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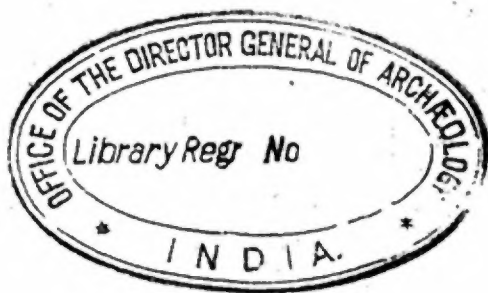
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BOOK III.

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ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH



BY

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SRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Munsiff, Ghasipur.

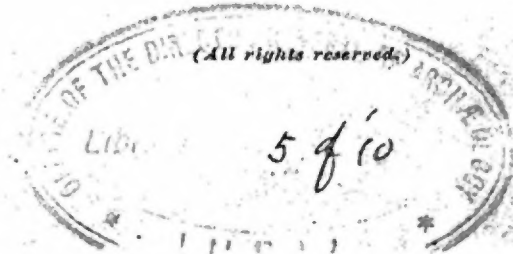
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TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION

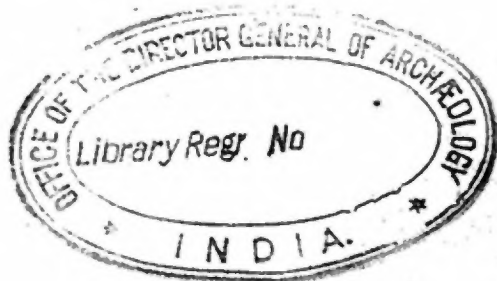
IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.





PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundation of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest systems of philosophy and religion of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of that classic language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature embodied in this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that deep insight and fulness of comprehension with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To understand properly Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upanishads, &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study to every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashtādhyāyī of Pāṇini has done for that of the Sanskrit scholars. No one who has studied this book can refrain from admiring it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the West. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar :—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pāṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the Kāṣikā. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of the Kāṣikā, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāṣikā in the original.

The work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The *Ashtādhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta Adhyāyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *pādas* or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

The rates of its subscription for the complete work published in eight Books or 32 chapters are as follow :—

(*Indian*) Rs. 20-0-0 in advance, including postage.

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Price per set of 4 parts bound in one volume, i. e., one Book or *Adhyāya*, including postage—Rs. 3 (*Indian*) ; 6s. (*Foreign*).

Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, c. s., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Panini Office, }
Allahabad. }

THE PUBLISHER.

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

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प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ पञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्ते र्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः प्रत्ययसंज्ञास्ते वेदिसंज्ञाः, प्रकृत्युपपदोपाधिविकारागमान्वर्जयित्वा ॥

1. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakṛiti' or base (such as गुप्, तिङ्, कित् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being सन्), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्तम्भ, शकृत in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the 'upādhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as वसु in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word हरति is a prakṛiti, वृत्ति and नाय are upapadas, वग् is an upādhi, the affix being इन्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes त्व्यन्, त्व्य, अनीयन् taught in III. I. 96, as कर्त्तव्यम्, करणीयम् 'to be done'.

परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्च स भवति धातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form; as कर्त्तव्यम् and तैत्तिरीयम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c.; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तश्च स भवति यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāṣā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udatta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix त्व्य has udatta on the first त्, as in कर्त्तव्यम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. I. 163, declares that affixes having an indicator च will have udātta on the final ; those having an indicator र have accent on the middle (VI. I. 217) ; those that have an indicator प are anudātta ; those having an indicator ल, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. I. 193) ; the affixes having an indicator ञ and न throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. I. 197) ; the taddhita affix having an indicator क takes acute accent on the final (VI. I. 165) ; and the affix having an indicator त is svarita (VI. I. 185).

अनुदात्तौ सुप्तिौ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तौ, सुप्-पितौ,
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपः पितश्च प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicator प (pit) are anudātta.

This is an exception (apavāda) to the last aphorism. As दृसद्वौ 'two stones' ; the case-affix औ is anudātta ; so also दृषदः ; so also पचति ; The third person singular affix तिप् has an indicator प, and is anudātta. But not पचतः.

गुप्तित्जकिद्भ्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-तिज्-किद्भ्यः, सन्
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप् गोपने, तिज निशाने, कित निवासे, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ निन्दाक्षमाख्याधिप्रतीकारेषु सन्निष्यते इत्यत्र यथाप्राप्तं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्, तिज and कित्, comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As जुगुप्सते 'he censures or despises' ; तित्तिस्तते 'he endures patiently' ; चिकित्सते 'he heals'. But गोपायति 'he protects' ; तेजयति 'he sharpens' ; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. I. 9. Thus, गुप् + सन् = जुगुप् + स (VII. 4. 62) = जुगुप्स् to which is added the third person singular termination अते = जुगुप्सते.

मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्-
बध-दान्-शान्भ्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान पूजायाम्, बध बन्धने, दान अवयखण्डने, शान भवतेजने, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः
सन् प्रत्ययो भवति, अभ्यासस्य चकारस्य दीर्घदिशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रापि सन्नर्थविशेष इत्यते ॥

6. The affix सन् comes after the verbs मान 'to honor', बध 'to bind', हन 'to cut' and शन 'to whet', and long ई is the substitute of the इ (VII. 4. 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The सन् is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below : मीमांसते 'he investigates', बीभत्सते 'he loathes', वीक्षसते 'he straightens', शीशसते 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of सन् becomes optional. Thus मानयति, बाधयति, हनयति and निशानयति are also valid forms.

धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकाद्, इच्छायाम्, वा, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मको यो धातुरिषिणैव समानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिच्छायामर्थे वा सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्क्यामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छासन्नन्तारप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The affix सन् is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, कृ 'to do'; चिकीर्षति=कर्तुमिच्छति 'he wishes to do'. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix सन् is to be added. Thus प्रकर्तुमिच्छत् = प्राचिकीर्षत्.

Why do we say कर्मणः 'after (a root expressing) an object'? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus गमनेनेच्छति; here there is no affix. But गन्तुमिच्छति will be जिगमिषति.

Why do we say समानकर्तृकात् 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished'? Observe देवदत्तस्य भोजनमिच्छति यज्ञदत्तः. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb इच्छति; but he is not agent of the action भोजनं; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say इच्छायाम् 'when the sense is that of wishing'? Observe कर्तुं जानाति 'he knows how to make'; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word वा 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus कर्तुमिच्छति or चिकीर्षति.

The word धातोः being especially used in this sūtra, shows that this सन् is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the सन् taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

Vart : The affix सन् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as शङ्के पतियति कूलम् = पिपतियति कूलम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also इवा मुमूर्षति.

Vart : There is no affixing of सन् after a verb which has already taken सन् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिच्छति. But the सन् of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have जुगुप्सिषते, मीमांसिषते.

सुप आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, आत्मनः, क्यच्,
(धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयिकर्मण एवितुरेवात्मसंबन्धिनः सुबन्तादिच्छायामर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्यच्च मान्ताव्ययप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि परेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, *i. e.*, verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीयति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र + क्यच् = पुत्री + य = पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word सुप्? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in महान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रम् and not महान्तं पुत्रं.

Why do we say *ātmanah*? Observe राज्ञः पुत्रमिच्छति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The क in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach*, *kyan* and *kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्य, as in sūtra तः क्ये I. 4. 15; while च् distinguishes *kyach* from *kyan* &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udātta by III. 1. 3.

Vart :—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in म्, and of Indeclinables. Thus in इदमिच्छति, उच्चैरिच्छति, there is no affixing.

Vart :—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा इवा वृक्षा भषायवो विद्न्. Here भषायु (pl. भषायवः) is

formed by *kyach*, अ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7; 27. 3 &c.

काम्यच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तात्कर्मण आत्मनेच्छायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुत्रकाम्यति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvṛitti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kāmyach*. The क of *kāmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix *kāmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it i.e. the affix being *chakāmya*.

उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, आचारे, (धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्मणः सुबन्तादाचारेऽयं वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणान्वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case-affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुत्रमिवाचरति छात्रं = पुत्रीयति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'

Part : So also in a locative case. As प्रासादीयति कुड्ये 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्येकीयति मञ्चके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, क्यङ्, सलोपः, च, (उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्तुः सुबन्तादाचारेऽयं वा क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, सकारश्च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आचारेऽवगल्भहीवहोडेभ्यः क्विप्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्य इत्येके ॥

11. The affix क्यङ् is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final स of the noun, if it ends with a स.

Thus, इयेनेवाचरति काकः, इयेनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अप्सरायते 'she behaves like an Apsarā'; पयस्यते or पयायते 'it becomes milk'; (इयेन + य = इयेना + य = इयेनाय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words ओजस् — ओजायते, and अप्सरस् — अप्सरायते the final स् is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पयस् where the elision is optional, as पयायते or पयस्यते.

The elision of स् refers to the final स् and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस — हंसायते; सारस — सारसायते; here the स is not elided as it is not final. See. I. 1. 52.

Vart:—After the words अवगन्त, क्लीब, and होइ, the affix क्तिप् is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अवगन्तते or अवगन्तायते, क्लीबते or क्लीबायते, होइते or होइायते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of क्यङ्.

Vart:—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix क्तिप् comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अश्वति or अश्वायते, गर्वति or गर्वायते.

भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्चेर्लोपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिभ्यः,
भुवि, अच्चेः, लोपः, च, हलः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽच्वन्तेभ्यो भुवि भवत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, हलन्तानां च लोपः ॥

12. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भृश and the rest, which do not end with the affix च्व (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words, if they end in a consonant.

Thus, अभृशो भृशो भवति = भृशायते 'he becomes much (from a little)'; शीघ्रायते 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12).

The phrase अच्चेः 'not ending in the adverbial affix इ', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class भृशादि. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix च्व itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix च्चि, will not again take क्यङ् in that very sense. The repetition of च्चि here shows that the words भृश् &c. never take the affix च्चि, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sūtra is an exception to sūtra V. 4. 50 which ordains च्चि.

भृशादिः ।

भृश, शीघ्र, मन्द, चपल, पण्डित, उत्सुक, वन्मनस्, अभिमनस्, सुमनस्, दुर्म्मनस्, रहस्, रोहस्, शरवत्, बहत्, वेहत्, नृपत्, गुधि, अधर, भोजस्, वर्चस्, (विमनस्, रभन्, रोहित, हन्, गुचिस्, भरजस्) ।

लोहितादिडाजभ्यः क्यप् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-डाजभ्यः, क्यप्, (भुवि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोहितादिभ्यो डाजन्तेभ्यश्च भवरयथे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix क्यप् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words लोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix डाञ् (V. 4. 57), when these words do not take the affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

Thus लोहितायते or लोहितायति 'he becomes red'; पटपटायते or पटपटायति 'he makes a noise like patapata'; (लोहित + य=लोहिता + य=लोहिताय, VII. 4. 25).

The word पटपटायते is formed by adding the affix *dāch* to the word पट which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *dāch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitādi*. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word *adi*, as लोहितादिभ्यः क्यप्; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohitā*, and words ending in *dāch*'.

This rule applies to words other than भृशादि which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the डित् affix क्यङ्, while क्यप् is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्मायति or वर्मायते, निद्रायति or निद्रायते, करुणायति or करुणायते, कृपायति or कृपायते. The *lohitādi* is an आकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; लोहित, नील, हरित, पीत, मद्र, फेन and मन्व.

The indicatory क in क्यप् is not for the sake of prohibiting *guṇa* and *vriiddhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guṇa* or *vriiddhi* takes place in a *dhātu* followed by a *sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka* affix. The affix क्यप् is not added to a *dhātu* but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of *guṇa* &c. The क is for the sake of grouping क्यच्, क्यङ्, and क्यप् in one class as क्य; as in sūtra नः क्ये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.

The affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three अस्, भू, or कृ; as पटपटाकरोति, -भवति or -स्यात्. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when क्यप् follows डाच्, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू, or अस्, is not applicable. Here डाच् comes without the addition of कृ, भू, or अस्ति.

The anuvṛitti of अच्चे: comes from the last sūtra; and hence the affix क्यप् is added in the sense of अभूततद्भाव i. e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्थी समर्थात् क्रमणर्थेऽनार्जवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सत्रकष्टकक्षकृच्छ्रगहनेभ्यः कएवचिकीर्षायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कष्ट 'mischievous', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कष्टाय क्रमणे क्रामति=कष्टायते 'he is assiduous for trouble, i. e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

Var:—The affix क्यङ्, comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सत्र, कष्ट, कक्ष, कृच्छ्र and गहन; as, सत्रायते, कष्टायते, कक्षायते, कृच्छ्रायते, and गहनायते.

When the sense is not of 'evil', the affix is not added, as भजः कष्टं व्रामति.

कर्मणो रोमन्धतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणः, रोमन्धत-पोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोमन्धशब्दात्तपःशब्दाच्च कर्मणो यथाक्रमं वर्त्तिचरोरर्थयोः क्यङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हनुचलन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तपसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix क्यङ् is employed after the words, रोमन्ध 'ruminating' and तपस 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोमन्धं वर्त्तयति=रोमन्धायते गोः 'the cow ruminates.'

Var: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, कीटो रोमन्धं वर्त्तयति.

Var: The Prasmaipada affixes are used after the word तपस्; as तपश्चरति=तपस्यति, 'he performs austerity'.

वाष्पोष्मभ्यामुद्गमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाष्प-ऊष्मभ्यां, उद्गमने,
(कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाष्पशब्दाद्गमशब्दाच्च कर्मण उद्गमनेऽर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ केनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्यङ् is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words वाष्प 'vapour' and ऊष्म 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, वाष्पायते 'it emits 'vapour'; उष्मायते 'it sends out heat'. So also केनायते 'it ejects froth'.

शब्दवैरकलहाभ्रकण्वमेघेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-
कलह-अभ्र-कण्व-मेघेभ्यः, करणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अभ्र कण्व मेघ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करोत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुदिनदुर्दिननीहारेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अट्टाशीकाकोटापोटासोटाकटाग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz.—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अभ्र 'cloud', कण्व 'sin' and मेघ 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति = शब्दायते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरायते, कलहायते, अभ्रायते, कण्वायते, मेघायते ।

Vart:—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुदिन, दुर्दिन and नीहार ; as, सुदिनायते, दुर्दिनायते, नीहारायते ।

Vart:—So also should be included the words अट्टा, अट्टा, शीका, कोटा, पोटा सोटा and कटा ; as अट्टायते, अट्टायते, शीकायते, कोटायते, पोटायते, सोटायते and कटायते ।

The word करण in the sūtra is not the Grammatical *Karṇa* or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः,
कर्तृ-वेदनायाम्, (कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखइत्येवमादिभ्यः कर्मभ्यो वेदनायामर्थेऽनुभवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति वेदयितुश्चेत्कर्तुः सम्बन्धीनि सुखादीनि भवन्ति ॥

18. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure' &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure' ; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent' ? Observe सुखं वेदयति प्रसाधको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master Deva-datta.' Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master ; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः ।

सुख, दुःख, तप्त, गहन, कृच्छ्र, भस्, भलीक, प्रतीप, करुण, कृपण, सोढ ।

नमोवरिविचित्रङः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-चित्रङः, क्यच्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस् वरिवस् चित्रङ् इत्येतेभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे पूजार्थे ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz:— नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चित्र 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवान्, 'he worships the gods' ; वरिवस्यति गुरुन्, 'he honors or serves the elders' ; चित्रीयते 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The इ in चित्रङ् indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चित्र + य = चित्री + य (VII. 4. 33) = चित्रीय).

पुच्छभाण्डचीवराण्डिङ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भाण्ड-चीवरात्, ण्डिङ्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भाण्ड चीवर इत्येतेभ्यो ण्डिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुदसने पर्यसन वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाण्डात्समाचयने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवरादर्जनं परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix ण्डिङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz:—पुच्छ 'tail', भाण्ड 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उपुच्छयते 'he lifts up the tail', (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); सम्भाण्डयते 'he collects pots in a heap'; संचीवरायते भिक्षुः 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix ण्डिङ्, the effective portion is इ, the other letters are servile. The इ indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and ण serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing णि, such as णिङ्, णिच् &c.

Vart:—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.

Vart:—After भाण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Vart:—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

मुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच् ॥ २१ ॥

पदानि ॥ मुण्ड-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्ण-लवण-व्रत-वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यः, णिच्,
(करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुण्ड मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण लवण व्रत वस्त्र हल कल कृत तूस्त इत्येतेभ्यः करणे णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix णिच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: मुण्ड 'shaving', मिश्र 'mixture', श्लक्ष्ण 'soft', लवण 'salt', व्रत 'vow', वस्त्र 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', कृत 'done', and तूस्त 'matted hair'.

Thus मुण्डयति 'he shaves'; मिश्रयति 'he mixes'; श्लक्ष्णयति 'he softens or alleviates'; लवणयति 'he salts'; पयोव्रतयति 'he fasts on milk'; संवस्त्रयति 'he covers with clothes i. e. dresses'; हलयति 'he ploughs'; कलयति 'he makes war'; कृतयति 'he appreciates kindness'; वितूस्तयति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word व्रत has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as पयो व्रतयति 'he drinks milk,' वृषजान्नं व्रतयति 'he abstains from the food prepared by a low caste'; after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हलि and कलि the sense is that of taking; as हलिं गृह्णाति = हलयति. The words in the sūtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कलि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were सन्; i. e. the सन्वद्भाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are अजहलत् and अचकलत्; and not अजीहलत् and अचाकलत्, which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्वद्भाव.

The word स्तूत means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धातोरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-आदेः, क्रिया-समभिहारे, यङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकञ् यो धातुर्हलादिः क्रियासमभिहारे वर्तते तस्माद्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, षीन-पुन्ब-भृगार्थो वा क्रियासमभिहारः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूचिसूचिमूच्यदपत्येणोतीनां ग्रहणं यङ् विधावनेकाजह्लाद्यर्थम् ॥

22. The affix यङ्, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyā-samabhihāra* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As पच् 'to cook', पापच्यते 'he cooks again and again'; जाञ्चल्यते 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga*. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like प्राङ् 'to go', (because the root अङ् is preceded by the *upasarga* प्र); or जागृ 'to be awake', (because it contains two vowels); or ईक्ष् 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

Vari :—The intensive affix यङ् comes after सूचि, सूचि, मूचि, भट्टि, भर्ति, भश and अणै, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोसूच्यते, सोसूच्यते, मोमूच्यते, अट्टाप्यते, अट्टार्यते, भशाप्यते, and प्रोणोन्मूच्यते.

The affix is not added in these cases भृगं शोभते or भृगं रोचते, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोहच्यते and शोशुभ्यते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as the root is क्तिन्.

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गतौ,

(यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिवचनाद्धातोः कौटिल्ये गम्यमाने नित्यं यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix यङ् invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus क्रम् 'to move', चंक्रम्यते 'he moves crookedly'. So also इन्दम्यते. After a verb of motion, the यङ् never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भृगं क्रामति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the sūtra i. e. यङ् always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपसदचरजपजभदहदंशगृभ्यो भावगर्हायाम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥

लुप-सद-चर-जप-जभ-दह-दंश-गृभ्यः, भाव-गर्हायाम्, (यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप सद चर जप जभ दह दंश गृ इत्येतेभ्यो भावगर्हायां धात्वर्थगर्हायां यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix यङ् when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गर्हा) in respect of the sense

of the root (भट्) comes always after the following roots, viz:—कृप् 'to cut off', सट् 'to sit', चट् 'to walk', जप् 'to mutter silently any sacred formula', जम् 'to gape or yawn', दट् 'to burn', दश् 'to bite' and गृ 'to swallow'.

Thus क्लृप्यते 'he cuts off badly'; सासद्यते 'he sits badly'; चंच्र्यते 'he walks badly'; जञ्जयते 'he recites badly'; so also जञ्जयते, दन्दयते, दन्दयते, निजिगिष्यते. The affix यङ् does not come in the sense of repetition &c. after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृज् लुपति 'he cuts off much'.

Why do we say 'when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant'? Observe साधु जपति 'he recites well'. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say 'in regard to the action denoted by the root'? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus मन्त्रं जपति वृषजः 'the Sûdra recites the sacred mantras'. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालोमत्वचवर्मवर्णचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो
णिच् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रूप-वीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लोम-
त्वच-वर्म-वर्ण-चूर्ण-चुर-आदिभ्यः, णिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यादिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्यन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्यश्च णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्थं वेदसत्यानामापुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

25. The affix णिच् is employed after these words, viz:—सत्य 'truth' (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sûtra), पाश 'a fetter', रूप 'form', वीणा 'a lute', तूल 'cotton', श्लोक 'celebration', सेना 'an army'; लोम 'the hair of the body', त्वच 'the skin', वर्म 'mail', वर्ण 'celebration', चूर्ण 'powder' and the verb of the Churâdi class.

Thus सत्यापयति 'he speaks truly'; विपाशयति 'he unfetters or liberates'; रूपयति 'he looks'; उपवीणयति 'he sings with the lute'; अनुतूलयति 'he makes a brush'; उपश्लोकयति 'he praises in verse'; अभिवेणयति 'he advances with the army'; अनुलोमयति 'he rubs over the hair'; त्वचयति 'he feels of the skin'; संवर्मयति 'he puts on the mail armour'; वर्णयति 'he celebrates or colors'; अवचूर्णयति he pulverises. The roots of the Churâdi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhâtupâtha. After the verbs of the Churâdi class, the affix णिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति 'he steals'. So also चिन्तयति.

Vart:—The words अर्थ, वेद and सत्य take the augment आप् before the affix णिच्; as, सरथापयति, अर्थापयति, वेदापयति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + आपुक् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = अर्थ + आप् + इ + अति = अर्थापि + अति = अर्थापयति (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called टि is not elided in this case, i. e. of अर्थाप् the syllable आप् is not elided before णिच्, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix णिच् has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word पाग, of 'seeing' after रूप, of 'singing in accompaniment' after वीणा, of 'brushing' after सूत्र, of 'praising' after श्लोक, of 'leading' after सेना, of 'rubbing' after लोम; of 'taking' after खच्, of 'putting on' after वर्न and of 'taking' after वर्ण.

हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, णिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोजकः तदीयो व्यापारः प्रेषणादिजननी हेतुमान् तस्मिन् अभिधेये धातोर्णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रयत्याद्यर्थम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानात्कृतस्तदाचष्ट इति णिच् कृञ्क् प्रकृति प्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाङ्जोपश्च कान्तात्यन्तसंयोगे मर्यादायाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चित्रीकरणे प्रापि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नक्षत्रयोगे हि ॥

26. The affix णिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing* &c. is called *hetumat*; as कर्तं कारयति 'he causes to prepare a mat'; भोदनं पाचयति 'he makes the rice to be cooked'. In other words, the affix णिच् forms the causative verbs.

Vart:—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the words सूत्र &c. Thus सूत्रं करोति = सूत्रयति 'he makes sūtra.' So also मूत्रयति.

Vart:—After words ending in कृत् affixes and describing legends, comes the affix णिच्, when the sense is 'he does that'. The कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधिमार्चष्टे = कंसं पातयति; बलिबन्धमार्चष्टे = बलिं बन्धयति; राजागमनमार्चष्टे = राजानम् आगमयति.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरात्रि विवासं मार्चष्टे = रात्रिं विवासयति; here the आ of आरात्रि is elided.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the affix णिच् has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus

उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सयोंदगमनं सभावयते = सूर्यमुद्गयति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahismati (wonderful speed)'.

Vart :—When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix एिच् after a word ending in कृत् affix, the कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent. Thus पुण्ययोगं जानाति = पुण्येण योजयति. So also मघाभिर्योजयति.

कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्डू-आदिभ्यः, (यक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्डूम् इत्येवमादिभ्यो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix यक् is employed after the roots कण्डु 'to itch'; &c.

Thus, कण्डूयति or कण्डूयते 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कण्डु &c are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

कण्ड्वादिः ।

कण्डूम्, मन्तु, इणीम्, बल्गु, अल्ल, मनस्, महीळ्, लेद्, लोद्, इरस्, इरज्, इरम्, दुवस्, मेधा, कुपुभ, मगध, तन्तस्, पम्पस्, सुख, दुःख, सपर, अर, भिषज्, भिष्णज्, इपुध, चरण, चुरण, भुरण, तुरण, गद्गद, हला, केला, खेला, लिट् and लोट् ।

गुप्धूपविच्छिपणिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-धूप-विच्छि-पणि-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप् रक्षणे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतौ, पण व्ययहारो स्तुतौ च, पन च, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्य आय प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix आय comes after गुप् 'to protect', धूप 'to heat', विच्छ 'to approach', पण 'to contract or praise' and पन 'to praise'.

Thus गोपायति 'he protects'; धूपायति 'he heats'; so also, विच्छायति, पणायति, and पनायति.

The verb पण being read along with पन् 'to praise,' has here the sense of praise only ; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण् when it means 'to make a contract' ; as शतस्य पणते, सहस्रस्य पण ते.

The verbs in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.

ऋतेरीयङ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतिः सौत्रो धातुर्घृणायां षत्तंते तत ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईयङ् comes after the sūtra root कृति 'to reproach'.

The indicatory इ shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada; as कृतीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, कृतीयाते, कृतीयन्ते.

कमेर्णिङ् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमेः, णिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्धातोर्णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix णिङ् comes after the root कम 'to desire'.

The ए indicates *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 115) and इ shows Atmanepada; as, कामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयेते and कामयन्ते.

आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविवक्षायामायादयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i.e. आय, ईयङ् and णिङ्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with an ārdhadhātuka affix.

Thus ता 3rd. sing. of the Future is an ārdhadhātuka affix. It is optional to retain the *āya* of *gopāya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोमा 'he will protect'. So also अर्तिता or कृतीयिता; कमिता or कामयिता.

But for this sūtra, the affixes आय &c. would have come always even when ārdhadhātuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper ārdhadhātuka affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the ārdhadhātuka क्तिन् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the ārdhadhātuka अ (III. 3. 102) will be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus गुन्तिः or गोपाया.

सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः, धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाद्यन्ताः समुदाया धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhātu.

This extends the sphere of Dhātu or roots already defined in sūtra I. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative roots. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c. as shown in the above examples. Thus चिकीर्षा 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; चक्रिय 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take शप् &c.

स्यतासी लृलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-तासी, लृ-लुटोः,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृरूपमुत्सृष्टानुबन्धं सामान्यमेकमेव तस्मिन् लुटि च परतो धातोर्धधासंख्य
स्यतासी प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

33. When लृ and लृट् follow, then स्य and तासि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

लृ is the common expression for लृङ् and लृट् formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses. लृट् is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus करिष्यति अकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The इ of तासि is indicative and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think'.

सिब्रहुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्, ब्रहुलम्, लेटि, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः सिप् प्रत्ययौ भवति ब्रहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. सिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट् follows.

The tense called लेट् or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिप् is diversely added.

Thus जोषिषत्, तारिषत्, मन्त्रिषत्. Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पताति विद्युत् उदधिं ज्यावयाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, वक्षति is an example of लेट् with सिप् ॥

कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्-प्रत्ययाद्,
आम्, अमन्त्रे, लिटि, (प्रत्ययः, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कास् शब्द कुत्सायां, ततः प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्य आम् प्रत्ययौ भवति लिटि परतोऽमन्त्रविषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कास्यनेकाच्च इति वक्तव्यम् चुलुप्पायर्थम् ॥

35. आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when लिट् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासाम्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4. 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or भस् or कृ is added. As कासांचक्रे 'he coughed'; चोरयामास 'he stole'. So also लोजूयांचक्रे.

This rule however does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोनाव Rīg. Veda I. 79. 2.

Var!—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चुनुम्पाञ्चकार, हरिद्राञ्चार ॥

The final म् of आम् is not indicatory.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्-आदेः, च, गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादिर्यो धातुर्गुरुमान् ऋच्छतिवर्जितस्तस्माच्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्णोतिश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The affix आम् is used when लिट् follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच् pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root ऋच्छ 'to go'.

Thus ईह 'to try', ईहांचक्रे 'he tried'; so also ऊहाञ्चक्रे 'he guessed', एधाञ्चक्रे 'he grieved'.

But ऋच्छ forms आनृच्छ 'he failed or went'. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodially long, except अ or आ. The verb ऊर्ण 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is ऊर्णनाव 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच् or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अर्ह, Perfect आनर्ह (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe उख्, Perf. उखोख (VI. 4. 78) ऊखतुः, ऊखुः. Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुर्ह, Perf. चुकुर्ह; पूव्, Perf. सुपूव्.

दयायासश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आसः, च, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दय दानगतिरक्षणेषु, अय गतौ, आस उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आस 'to sit', there is the affix आम्, when लिट् follows.

Thus दयाञ्चक्रे 'he gave'; पलायञ्चक्रे 'he ran away'; आसाञ्चक्रे 'he sat'.

उषविदजागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद-जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष दाहे, विद ज्ञाने, जागृ निद्राक्षये, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्यामाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix आम् is optionally employed after these, viz.—उष् 'to burn', विद् 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिट् follows.

Thus ओवाञ्चकार or उवोप, विवाञ्चकार or विवेद, जागराञ्चकार or जजागार. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विद as ending in a short अ, *guna* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

भीहीभृहुवां श्लुवच्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ही-भृ-हुवां, श्लुवत्, च, (आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिभी भये, ही लज्जायाम्, डुभृन् धारणयोपणयोः, हु हानाशनयोः, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम्, इलाविच चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when लिट् follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear', ही 'to be ashamed', भृ 'to nourish', हु 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were इलु elision and the roots belonged to Hvādi class.

The effect of इलु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. I. 10. As विभयाञ्चकार or विनाय, जिह्वाञ्चकार or जिह्वाय, विभराञ्चकार or बभार, जुहवाञ्चकार or जुहाव.

कञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि, ॥ कञ्, च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्य पञ्चात्कृन्नुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृञि प्रत्याहारेण कृभवत्तयो गृह्यन्त तत्सामर्थ्यादस्तेर्भूभावो न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when लिट् follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs भू and अस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अस् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the लिट् affixes which are Ardhadhâtuka affixes. Thus पाचयाञ्चकार, पाचयाम्बभूव, पाचयामास.

विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु, इति, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्येतदन्यतरस्याम् निपादयते ॥

41. The form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विद 'to know,' when followed by लोट् or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोट् are then elided by *luk*; moreover there is no substitution of *guna*

as required by VII. 3. 86 ; and when we have thus obtained the form विदाम्, we annex to it the लोट् of the verb कृ; thus we have विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु or विदन्तु 'let them know'. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु in the aphorism ; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed ; as विदाङ्कुरुतु विदाङ्कुरुताम् &c.

अभ्युत्साद्यांप्रजनयांचिकयांरमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद्विदाम-
क्रन्निति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्साद्याम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिकयाम्-
रमयामकः, पावयांक्रियाद्-विदामक्रन्, इति, छन्दसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्युत्साद्यामित्येवमादयः छन्दसि विषयेऽन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्साद्यामकः प्रजनयामकः चिकयामकः रमया-
मकः पावयांक्रियाद् विदामक्रन् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लुङ्) of the causatives of the roots सद् 'to sit', जन् 'to be born', and रम् 'to sport': to which the affix आम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चि 'to collect', to which आम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary अकः is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root पू 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative affix लिच्, annexing the affix आम् before the terminations of the Potential (लिट्) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रियात्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which आम् is added and the auxiliary अकन् is employed. These are the archaic forms ; their modern forms are as follow :—
अभ्युदसीषद्, प्राजीजनत्, अचैषीत्, अरीरमत्, पाव्याद्, अवेदिषुः ।

च्लि लुङि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्लि, लुङि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः च्लि प्रत्ययो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

43. When लुङ् follows, the affix च्लि is added to the verbal root.

The इ of च्लि is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake of accent (VI. 1, 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicatory च has *udatta* on its final. Then remains only लि, which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact च्लि is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

च्लेः सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्लेः, सिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च्लेः सिजादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्प्रशमृशकृषदपट्टपां सिञ्ज्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

44. Of च्लि, सिच् is the substitute.

The इ of सिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the च is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as अकार्षीत् 'he did'. When सिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

	Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.		
	sing.	dual	plural		sing.	dual	plural
1st pers.	सं	स्व	स्म		सि	स्वहि	स्महि
2nd pers.	सीः	स्तं, तं	स्त, त		स्थाः, याः	सायां	ध्वं
3rd pers.	सीत्	स्तां, तां	सुः		स्त, त	सातां	सत

The substitution of सिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पर्ग् 'to touch', र्ग् 'to rub', कृप् 'to plough', हृप् 'to become satisfied', and हृप् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पर्ग् has three forms; अस्पर्क्षीत्, अस्पर्क्षीत् or अस्पर्क्षत्. Similarly र्ग् has अर्क्षीत्, अर्क्षीत् or अर्क्षत्; कृप्, अकार्षीत्, अकार्षीत् or अकृषत्; हृप्, अताप्सीत्, अताप्सीत् or अतृपत्.

शल इगुपधादनितः कसः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलः, इग्-उपधात्, अनितः, कसः, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शलन्तो यो धातुरिगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्य च्लेरनितः, कस आवेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a शल consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इद् (VII. 2. 10), कस is the substitute of च्लि.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with कस are as follow:

	Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.		
	sing.	dual	plural		sing.	dual	plural
1st pers.	सं	साव	साम्		सि	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd pers.	सः	सतं	सत		स्थाः, याः	साधाम्	सध्वम्, ध्वम्
3rd pers.	सत्	सातां	सन्		सत, त	सातां	सन्त

As, मृग् and कृप् in the last sūtra have their Aorist with कस as अमृक्षत् and अकृषत्; so दुह 'to milk' forms अधुक्षत् 'he milked', लिह् 'to lick' अलिङ्गत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in श, च, स and ह'? Observe अत्रैस्सीत्, अच्छैस्सीत्; here सिच् is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate इ, उ, ऋ or ॠ'? Observe अधाक्षीत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate इ'? Observe अकोषीत् and अनोषीत्. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

श्लिष आलिंगने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लिषः, आलिंगने, (च्लेः, कसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लिषेधातोराजिङ्गनक्रियावचनात् परस्य च्लेः कस आवेशो भवति ॥

46. कस is the substitute of च्लि after the verb श्लिष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

This is a restrictive aphorism. As आश्लिषत् कन्याम् 'he embraced the girl'. But समाश्लिषज्जुकाष्टम् 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दृशः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दृशः, (च्लेः, वसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेर्धातोः परस्य च्लेः क्तादेशो न भवति ॥

47. वस is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb दृश् 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sūtra III. 1. 45. enjoining क्त. The root दृग् will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take अङ् and सिच्; as अवशत् or अद्राक्षत् 'he saw'.

शिश्रिदुस्तुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चङ् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-श्रि-दु-स्तुभ्यः, कर्त्तरि, चङ्, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः शिश्रिदुस्तुभ्येतेभ्यश्च परस्य च्लेश्चङादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कनेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in णि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb श्रि 'to serve', दृ 'to run', and लृ 'to drop', चङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

The ङ prevents *guna* and *vridhhi* and च is to distinguish it from अङ्. When चङ् is added, there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चङ् is used; as अचीकरत् 'he caused to make'; अशिश्रियत् 'he served or went'; अरुदुवत् 'he ran'; अस्तुलुवत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अकारयिषाताम्.

The root कम् 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कम्, when it takes the affix णिङ् (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in णि; the *Vārtika* makes the additional statement that even when the root कम् does not take the affix णिङ्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अचकमत् 'he loved'; when it takes णिङ्, the Aorist will be अचीकमत् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94.)

विभाषा धेट्श्वोः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धेट्-श्वोः, (च्लेः, चङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेट् पाने, दुभोदिव गतिवृद्धयोः, एताभ्यामुत्तरस्य च्लेर्विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

49. After the roots धृ 'to suck', and श्रि 'to grow', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

As, अश्वत्, 'he sucked'. When it takes the alternative सिच्, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have अघात् and अघासीत् 'he sucked'. So also of श्व, we have अशिश्वत् 'he grew'. It also takes the भङ्, (III. 1. 58) and then its form is अश्वत् or अश्वयीत्.

गुपेच्छन्दसि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (च्लेः, चङ्, विभाषा, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपेः परस्य च्लेच्छन्दसि विषये विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

50. After the verb गुप् 'to protect', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि in the Ohhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप् does not take the affix भाय (II. 1. 28). As इमान् नो मित्रावरुणो यत्, गृहान् अजुगुपतम् 'Mitra Varuṇa protected these our houses'. The other forms are अगोप्यत्, अगोपिष्टम् or अगोपायिष्टम्. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

नोनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊनयति-ध्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (च्लेः, चङि, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊन परिहाणे, ध्वन शब्दे, इल प्रेरणे, अर्द गतौ याचने च, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो ण्यन्तेभ्यः पूर्वेण च्लेश्चङि प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs ऊन 'to decrease', ध्वन 'to sound', इल 'to send', and अर्द 'to go or to beg', चङ् is not the substitute of च्लि in the Ohhandas.

Thus we have ऊनयीः in the Vedas ; औनिनत् in the classical literature ; so also ध्वनयीत्, ऐलयीः and अर्दयीत् ; their classical forms being अदिध्वनत्, ऐलिनत्, and आर्दिवत्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pānini VII 2, 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-ख्यातिभ्यो, अङ्, (च्लेः, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असु क्षेपणे, वक् परिभाषणे, मूत्रादेशो वा, खया प्रकथने, चक्षिहादेशो वा, एभ्यः परस्य च्लेःहादेशो भवति कर्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

52. After the verbs अस् 'to throw', वक् 'to speak', and खया 'to speak', भङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

वक् may be either the root, or the substitute of मृ (II. 4. 53) and so also खया may be the root, or the substitute of चक्ष् (II. 4. 54). The root अस् belonging to the द्विवादि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the subdivision पुषादि, and therefore it would have taken भङ् in the Parasmaipada

by rule III. 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes-अङ् in the Atamanepada also ; as पर्यास्यत (VII. 4. 17), अत्रोचत् and आख्यत्. In the Passive, we have पर्यासिषाताम्.

लिपिसिचिह्वश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिचि-ह्वः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप उपवेहे, सिचि क्षरणे, ह्वेच् स्वर्द्ध्यां एतेभ्यश्च परस्य, च्जेरङादेशो भवति ॥

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and ह्वे 'to call', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

Thus अलिपत् 'he painted or wrote' ; असिचत् 'he sprinkled' ; and आह्वत् 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, अङ्, लिपि, सिचि, ह्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिपिसिचिह्व आत्मनेपदेषु परतः च्जेरङादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिच् and ह्वे, अङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus अलिपत् or अलिप्त 'he painted' ; असिचत् or असिक्त 'he sprinkled' ; आह्वत् or अह्वारत् 'he challenged'.

पुषाद्युताद्यलृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-द्युतादि-लृद्-इतः, परस्मैपदेषु, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिभ्यो युतादिभ्यः लृदिभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः परस्य च्लेः परस्मैपदेषु परतो अङादेशो भवति ॥

55. अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, after the verbs पुष् 'to nourish', and the rest, युत् 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory लृ, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs ; and युतादि verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, अपुषत् 'he nourished' ; युत्, अयुत् 'he shone' ; गम्, अगम् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada ; as व्यद्योतिट्, अज्योतिष्ट.

सर्त्तिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्ति-शास्ति-अर्त्तिभ्यः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छ गतौ, शासु अनुशिष्टौ, ऋ गतौ, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्जेरङादेशो भवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ मृ कृहि इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्छेः छन्दसि विषये ऽडादेशो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', मृ 'to die', कृ 'to tear', and कृहि 'to rise', भृ is the substitute of च्छि when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरोत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; अकरोत् 'he tore'; अकरोत् 'he rose'. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकरोत्, अमरत्, अकरोत्, and अकरोत्.

चिण् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, ते, पदः, (छे :) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पद गतो अस्तद्धातोः परस्य च्छेःश्चिणादेशो भवति तदा च्छे परतः ॥

60. चिण् is the substitute of च्छि after the verb पद 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अपाति 'he went'; but not so in the dual and plural; as अपसाताम् 'they two went'; अपत्सत् 'they went'; भृ + पद + चिण् + त = भ + पाद + इ = अपाति (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

दीपजनबुधपूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥

दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (छेः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि एतेभ्यः परस्य च्छेःस्तद्धातोः परतोऽन्यतरस्यां चिणादेशो भवति ॥

61. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्छि, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs दीप 'to shine', जन् 'to be produced', बुध 'to teach or know', पूर 'to be full', ताय 'to extend or protect' and प्याय 'to smell'.

Thus दीपि or दीपिट् 'he shone'; अजनि or अजनिट् 'he was produced'; अरोधि or अरोद्ध 'he knew'; अपूरि or अपूरिट् 'he was full'; अत्तायि or अत्तायिट् 'he extended'; अप्यायि or अप्यायिट् 'he grew'.

अचः कर्मकर्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्म-कर्तरि, (छेः, ते,

चिण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्धातोः परस्य च्छेः कर्मकर्तरि तदा च्छे परतश्चिणादेशो भवति ॥

62. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्छि when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflexive verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflexive verbs therefore, चिण् is employed after roots ending in

vowels ; as अकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself. This is an optional rule (प्राप्तविभाषा). Therefore we have also अकृत कटः स्वयमेव ; similarly भजावि or अजविट कोदारः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, *i. e.* in those which end with a consonant, the चिण् is obligatory in the reflective voice, and not optional ; as अभेदि काटम् स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself'. So also in verbs other than reflexives ; as अकारि कटो वेवदत्तेन.

दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (च्लेः, चिण्, अन्यतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह प्रपूरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

63. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्ल after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when न follows.

Thus अदोहि or अदुग्ध गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिण् is compulsory, *e. g.* अदोहि गौर्गोपानकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि चिण्देशो न भवति ॥

64. चिण् is not the substitute of च्ल after the verb रुध 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus अन्ववारुद्ध गौ स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, चिण् is employed, *e. g.* अन्ववारोधि गौर्गोपानकेन.

तपोऽनुतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, ह्येः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप संतापे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो न भवति कर्मकर्त्तरि अनुतापे च ॥

65. चिण् is not the substitute of च्ल after the verb तप् 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप् ; as अतप्त तपस्तापसः 'the ascetic performed austerity' ; अन्वतप्त पापेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

चिण् भावकर्मणोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, भाव-कर्मणोः, (ह्येः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः परस्य च्लेभिः शब्दो भवति भावे कर्मणि तृशब्दे परतः ॥

66. चिण् is the substitute of चिन् when त of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (भाव) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally ; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As अशयि भवता 'it was lain by you i. e. you lay'; अकारि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिण् here is for the sake of distinctness.

सार्वधातुके यक् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुके, यक्, (भाव-कर्मणोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोर्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते भवता 'you sit', शय्यते भवता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs ; as क्रियते कटः and गम्यते ग्रामः. The क of यक् is servile, and prevents guna and vridhhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself'.

कर्त्तरि शप् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोः शप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the भू class and after compound roots formed by सन् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory ष makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the प् indicates that the vowel has *anudatta* accent (III. 1. 4). As भू+शप्+तिप्=भू+अ+ति=भो+अ+ति=भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिभ्यः, श्यन्, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix श्यन् comes after a root of the Di-vadi class, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars शप्. The servile न of श्यन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *udatta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix ; and the indicatory श makes the affix sârvadhâtuka ; as दिव्+श्यन्+

तिप् = शीच् + च + ति (VII. 2. 77) = शीच्यति; so also सीच्यति. The *Divādi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

वा भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रम्-क्रम-क्लम्-त्रसि-वृटि-लपः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा,
भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रम्-क्रम-क्लम्-त्रसि-वृटि-लपः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि, श्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्लाश भ्रम् क्रम् क्लम् त्रसि वृटि लप एतेभ्यो वा-श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; भ्राश् 'to shine', भ्लाश् 'to shine', भ्रम् 'to whirl', क्रम् 'to walk', क्लम् 'to be sad', त्रस् 'to fear', वृट् 'to cut', and लप् 'to desire'.

Thus भ्राशते or भ्राश्यते 'he shines'; भ्लाशते or भ्लाश्यते 'he shines'; भ्रमति or भ्राम्यति 'he whirls'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he walks'; क्लामति or क्लाम्यति 'he is sad'. So also त्रस्यति or त्रसति; वृट्पति or वृटति; लप्यति or लपति.

यसोऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यसः, अनुपसर्गात्, (श्यन्, वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यशोऽनुपसर्गाद्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the verb यस् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus यास्यति or यसति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in आयस्यति, प्रयस्यति. The root यस् belongs to the *Divādi* class.

संयसश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (श्यन्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्च यसेर्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the root यस् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition सम्, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus संयस्यति or संयसति 'he strives'.

स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिभ्यः, श्नुः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुप् अभिपदे इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix श्नु comes after the roots of Svādi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent follows.

This debars शप्. As सु+श्नु+तिप् = सु+नु+ति=सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

श्रुवः शृ च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुवः, शृ, च, (श्नुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुवः श्रुप्रत्ययो भवति तत्संनियोगेन श्रुवः शृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

74. And शृ is the substitute of श्रु, and there is the affix श्रु after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus श्रु+श्नु+तिप् = शृ+नु+ति = शृणीति 'he hears'; शृणुतः 'they two hear'.

अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (श्नुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षू व्याप्तौ भोवादिकः अस्मादन्यतरस्यां श्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. The affix श्रु is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अवप्नोति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

तनूकरणे तक्षः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनू-करणे-तक्षः, (अन्यतरस्यां, श्रुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तक्षू त्वक्षू तनुकरणे, अस्मात्तनूकरणे वर्त्तमानादन्यतरस्यां श्रु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix श्रु is optionally employed after the root तक्ष 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्षोति काष्ठं 'he hews the wood'. But संतक्षति वाग्भिः 'he cuts with speech'.

तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिभ्यः, शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुद व्यथने, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

77. The affix श is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory श makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुद+श+ति = तुद+अ+ति = तुदति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

रुधादिभ्यः श्नम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिभ्यः, श्नम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर आवरणे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो श्नम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix श्नम् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory न् of the affix इनम् shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see Sûtra I. 1. 47. As रुध्+इनम्+ति=रुध्+न+ति=रु+न+ध्+ति=रुणद्धि 'he obstructs'. So also भिनत्ति 'he splits'. The indicatory श् is for the sake of sûtra VI. 4. 23.

तनादिरुञ्ज्य उः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-रुञ्ज्यः, उः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनु विस्तारे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कृञ्श्च उपत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanâdi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sârva-dhâtuka affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars शप्. As तन्+उ+ति=तनोति 'he expands'; कृ+उ+ति=करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanâdi verbs, for which see Dhâtupâtha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sûtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanâdi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ; all the other operations of Tanâdi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus भकृत and भकृत्या; the सिच् elision being compulsory and not optional.

धिन्विरुख्योर च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धिन्वि-रुख्योः, अ, च,

(उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिवि धिवि जिवि प्रीणनायोः कृषि हिंसाकरणयोः इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोरुपत्ययो भवत्यकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots धिन्वि 'to please', and कृषि 'to hurt', when a sârva-dhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final इ.

The root धिन्वि or धिन्वि belongs to the Bhuâdi class. Thus धिन्वि + उ + ति = धिन् + अ + उ + ति = धिन् + उ + ति (VI. 4. 48) = धिनोति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no *guna* of the इ of धिन् by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be *gunated* before a sârva-dhâtuka or an ârdha-dhâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sûtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is like the former occupant (*sthânavat*), and thus prevents *guna*.

क्रयादिभ्यः श्ना ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिभ्यः, श्ना ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इक्रीञ् इत्यदिनिमित्ते इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix श्ना comes after the roots of the Kryâdi class when a sârva-dhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.

This debars शप्. As क्री + श्ना + तिप् = क्रीणाति 'he buys'. So also प्रीणाति 'he pleases'.

स्तम्भस्तम्भस्कम्भस्कुम्भस्कुम्भ्यः शतम् ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्तम्भ-स्तम्भ-स्कम्भ-स्कुम्भ-स्कुम्भ्यः, शतः, च, (शत) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु स्तुम्भु स्कम्भु स्कुम्भु स्कुम्भ एतेभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति श्नुम्भ ॥

82 And there is the affix *इना* after *स्तम्भ*, *स्तुम्भ*, *स्कम्भ* or *हकुम्भ* 'to hinder', 'to be dull or insensible', 'to support', and *हकु* 'to go by leaps', as well as the affix *इनु*, when a *sârvadhâtuka* affix follows, in denoting the agent.

As स्तम्भाति or स्तम्भोति, स्तुम्भाति or स्तुम्भोति, रक्म्भाति or रक्म्भोति, स्कुम्भाति or स्कुम्भोति, स्कुनाति or स्कुनोति. The first four of these roots are not found in the Dhātupāṭha and are to be found in the sūtras, and hence called Saūtra roots.

हलः श्नः शानश्चौ ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, श्नः, शानच्-हौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्य उत्तरस्य श्नाप्रत्ययस्य शानजादेशो भवति हो परतः ॥

83. The affix ज्ञानच् is the substitute of ज्ञा after a root ending with a consonant, when हि follows.

The affix हि is the 2nd person singular of लोड् or the Imperative mood. Thus पुषाण् 'do thou nourish', गृहाण् 'do thou take', from roots पुष् and ग्रह which end with consonants. But we have क्रीणीहि 'do thou buy'; here there is no substitution of शानच्, because the root ends with a vowel. The repetition of शना in the sūtra shows that शानच् is a mere substitute and not an independent affix.

छन्दसि शायजपि ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि , शायच्, अपि,
(हलः, शनः, शानच्, हौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये शूनः शायजादेशो भवति शानजपि ॥

84. In the Chhandas, शयच् is also the substitute of श्ना after roots ending in consonants, when हि follows.

Thus गृभाय जिह्वा नधु, (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) The affix शानच् is also employed ; as ब्रधान पशन् 'kill the beasts'.

व्यत्ययो बहुलम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यत्ययः, बहुलम्, (छन्दसि, शवादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथायथं विकरणाः शब्दादयो विहितास्तेषां छन्दसि विषये बहुलं व्यस्ययो भवति ॥

85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various vikaranas and the rest

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद् + शप् + ति instead of भिनत्ति from the root भिद् 'to split', belonging to the Rudhādi class; *e. g.* शुष्मस्य आण्डानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11.) 'He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma; so also, जरता मरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11); here there is मरते = मृ + शप् + ते instead of म्रियते; the root मृ belonging to the Tudādi class. So also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वरते न नेषतु 'May Indra lead by this abode'; here there is नेषतु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative क्ताद् of the root नी 'to lead'; there are two vikaraṇas सिप् and शप् instead of नयतु = नी + शप् + तु; इन्द्रेण युजा तरुषेन वृषम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तरुषेन (वृ + उ + सिप् + शप् + अन्) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (लिङ्) of the root वृ, the classical form being तरेम or तोर्यास्म 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृत् and तद्धित affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyāhāra यङ् (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

लिङ्गाशिष्यङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङि, आशिषि, अङ्,
(छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् तस्मिन्परतश्छन्दसि विषयेऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृशोरग्वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (आशीर्लिङ्) follow.

This debars शप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are ārdhadhātuka by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are sārvaadhātuka as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs स्था, गा, गन्, वच्, वङ्, शाक् and रुह; as उपस्थेयम्; सत्यमुपयेयम्; गमेन जानतो गृहान्, मन्त्र बोधेनाप्तयं; विद्वयनेना मनसि प्रविष्टां; व्रतम् चरिष्यामि तच्छक्रेयम्; स्वर्गं लोकमारुहेयम्.

The affix अक् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb दृम् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्, it would have caused दृम् by rule VII. 4. 16.; to prevent this, अक् is ordained; as पितरं च दृशेय मातरं च 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मवत्, कर्मणा,
तुल्य-क्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म, कर्मस्थया क्रियया तुल्यक्रियः कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The *ञ* denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a *ञ* denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or *ञ*, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or *ञ* denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of *यक्* (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of *चिण्* for *चिन्* (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus *भियते काष्ठं स्वयमेव* 'the wood splits of itself'; *भवेद्दि काष्ठं स्वयमेव* 'the wood splits of itself'.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object: and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word *वत्* 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus *भियते कुसूलेन*.

The word *कर्मणा* 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the *tulya-kriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus *साध्वसिरिच्छन्ति* 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also *साधु स्थाली पचति* 'the pot cooks well'; here *स्थाली* is a location.

This '*karma-vad-bhāva*, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

तपस्तपः कर्मकस्यैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस्य, एव, (कर्मवत्, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, अस्य कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्यैव नान्य कर्मकस्य ॥

88. The agent of the verb *तप्* 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word *तप्* itself.

Thus *तप्यते तपस्तापसः* 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in *उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः* 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

न दुहस्तुनमां यक्चिणौ ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दुह-स्तु-नमां, यक्-चिणौ, (कर्मकर्त्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह स्नु नम् इत्येतेषां कर्मकर्तरि यक्चिणौ कर्मवद्भावापदिष्टौ न भवतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यक्चिण्योः प्रतिषेधे णिअन्यिमन्यिभूमाशनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. The affix यक् (III. 1. 67) and चिण् (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs दुह् 'to milk', स्नु 'to fall in drops' and नम् 'to bow'.

The affixes यक् and चिण् are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root दुह्, the affix यक् is only prohibited by the present sūtra; the चिण् being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as दुग्धे, अदुग्ध or अशोहि गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' प्रस्तुते or प्रास्तीष्ट गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself'; नमते or अनस्त इण्डः स्वयमेव 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक् and चिण् is extended to the verbs that take the affix णि (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs अन्य 'to loosen', मन्थ 'to compose' and ब्रू 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi Intransitive verbs. As कारयते 'it is caused to be made of itself'; अचीकरत् 'it was caused to be made of itself'; अचनीते 'it loosens of itself'; अभचिनष्ट 'it loosened of itself'; मचनीते; अमचिनष्ट 'it composes or composed of itself'; ब्रूते and अब्रूचत् 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; आहते and आवधिट् माणवकः स्वयमेव.

कुचिरङ्गोः प्राचांश्यन्परस्मैपदं च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुचि-रङ्गोः,
प्राचाम्, श्यन्, परस्मैपदं, च, (कर्मकर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुच निष्कचं, रङ्ग रागे, अनयोर्धात्वोः कर्मकर्तरि प्राचानाचार्याणां मतेन श्यन्, प्रत्ययो भवति परस्मैपदं च ॥

90. The affix श्यन् comes after the roots कुच् 'to pull', and रङ्ग 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

This debars the affix यक् and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुच्यति पादः स्वयमेव 'the foot draws up of itself'; रङ्ग्यति वस्त्रं स्वयमेव 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कुच्यते and रङ्ग्यते.

धातोः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरित्ययमधिकारो वेदितव्यः, आ दतीयाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्द्विदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक-
मिष्यामी धातोरित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. As far as the end of the Third Book

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and कृद् affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्यम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमी-
स्यम्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रैतस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तृतीये यस्यसप्तमी निर्दिष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependent word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. कर्मण्यम् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case ; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + भण् = कुम्भकारः 'a potter' ; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.

रुदतिङ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद्, अ-तिङ्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तिङ्वाजितः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञको भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत्.

Thus the affixes तव्यम् &c. are कृत्. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots ; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prātipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (I. 2. 46). Thus कृ + तव्यं = कर्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिङ् affixes'? Observe चीयात् 'may he collect', स्तुयात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

वा असंख्योऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, असंख्यः, अस्त्रियाम्,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे ऽसंख्यारूपः प्रत्ययो ऽपवादो वा बाधको भवति स्वयधिकार-
विहितप्रत्यये वर्जयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sūtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same

form, optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes **वुञ्** and **वृच्** (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sūtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an *utsarga* or a general rule; while the sūtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix **क्** after verbs having a penultimate इक् vowel, and the roots **ज्ञा**, **प्री** and **कु** is an *apavāda* or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes **वुञ्** and **वृच्** also. Thus **क्षिप्** is a root that has a penultimate इ belonging to the *pratyāhāra* इक्; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix **क्** will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus **विक्षिप् + क = विक्षिर् + अ = विक्षिरः**; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally **विक्षिप् + वुञ् = विक्षेपकः**; and **विक्षिप् + वृ = विक्षेष्ट** nom. sing. **विक्षेष्टा**.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes **अण्** and **क** are, when stripped of their indicative letters, affixes having the same form *i. e.* अ; and therefore the sūtra III. 2. 1. ordaining **अण्** as a general rule, will be always debarred by sūtra III. 2. 3 ordaining **क**, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long आ, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus **गो + दा + क = गोदः** 'giver of cows'. So also **कम्बजदः** 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix **अण्**.

It follows from this sūtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicative letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (**असकृत्**) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes **क**, **अण्**, **भच्**, **ण** &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sūtra III. 3. 94 ordaining **क्तिन्** in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or *utsarga* rule, while sūtra III. 3. 102 ordaining **अ** after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or *apavāda* rule, and though **अ** and **ति** are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots **चिकीर्ष** and **जिहीर्ष** will form feminine nouns in **आ** and not by **क्तिन्**. Thus **चिकीर्षा** and **जिहीर्षा** and not **चिकीर्षति** &c.

कृत्याः प्राङ्गुलः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, प्राक्, गुलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्वुल्ङादिति वक्ष्यति प्रागतस्माण्वुल्ङशब्दनायानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः
कृत्यसंतकास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism ण्वुल्ङौ (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of *Kritya*.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kritya*, a subdivision of *krit* affixes. These are certain affixes like तव्य, अनीय &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70). The following 38 sūtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *ndus* conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called, Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kritya* occurs in sūtras II. 1. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्तव्यत्तव्यानीयर इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसेस्तव्यत् कर्त्तरि णिच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ केजिमर उपसंख्यानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvṛitti from sūtra 91. The final letters-त् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter त् indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 185) and the letter र indicating penultimate udātta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 ante of this chapter.

Thus कृ + तव्यत् = कर्त्तव्यम्, and कृ + तव्य = कर्त्तव्यम् 'must be done'; कृ + अनीयर = करणीयम् 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

Vart:—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वस् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicatory ए. The force of ए is to cause vṛiddhi. Thus वस् + तव्यत् = वास्तव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

Vart:—The affix केजिमर should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus वचेजिमा नाषः 'kidney beans fit to be

cooked'; भिङ्गिमानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split i. e. fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (i. e. in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अचो यत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवः, यत्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजन्ताद्धातोर्द्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तकिशसिचतियतिजनीनामुपसंख्यानम् हनो वा वध च ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter त् of this affix is indicative showing that the udatta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा+यत्= गेय, noun sing. गेयम् 'what is to be sung'; so also पेयम् 'what is to be drunk'; जेयम् 'what is to be conquered'. The आ of गा and वा is changed into ए by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes ण्यत् affix instead of यत्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which *primarily* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from हो 'to cut', we have the desiderative root हिस्त्, which ends in a vowel अ. This अ is elided before ārdha-dhātuka affixes and thus the root becomes हिस्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not ण्यत्. Thus हिस्वयम् 'what is wished to be cut'; धिस्वयम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly लु before ārdhadhātuka affixes becomes लो, the ओ is changed into अच् before य (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is लव्. The root लव् however takes यत् and not ण्यत्; as लव्यो, पव्यम्, &c.

Vart:—The verbs तक् 'to fly', शक् 'to leap', चक् 'to ask', यत् 'to attempt' and जन् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not ण्यत्; as तव्यम्, शव्यम्, चव्यम्, यव्यम्, and जव्यम्.

Vart:—And of the verb हन् 'to kill' वध is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वध्यम् or पाठ्यम्. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वध् substitute; after हन् the affix ण्यत् comes which changes the ह into घ, and न into त and causes vriddhi.

पोरदुपधात् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोः, अद्-उपधात्, (धातोः यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदगान्ताद्धातोर्कारोपधाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short अ.

This debars **ज्यत्**; thus **शप् + ज्यत् = शप्यं** 'to be sworn'; **जम् + ज्यत् = जम्ज्यम्** 'to be acquired'.

Why do we say 'which ends in a labial'? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short **अ**, the root will take **ज्यत्**; thus **पच् + ज्यत् = पाक्यम्** 'what is to be cooked'; **वाक्यम्** 'speech'.

Why do we say 'when preceded by a short अ'? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take **ज्यत्**; thus **कुप् + ज्यत् = कोप्यम्** 'to be angry'; so also **गोप्यम्** 'to be concealed'.

The word **अत्** is used in the sūtra in the original. The force of **त्** here is, by I. 1. 70, that short **अ** having one mātrā or prosodial length is to be taken and not long **आ**. Therefore, after the root **आप्** 'to obtain', we have **ज्यत्** and not **जत्**; thus **आज्यम्** 'to be reached' *i. e.* 'attainable'.

शकिसहोश्च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्शक्तौ, सह मरणे, अनयोर्धात्वर्थस्यैव भवति ॥

99. The affix **ज्यत्** comes after the roots **शक्** 'to be able', and **सह** 'to bear'.

Thus **शक्यम्** 'possible'; **सह्यम्** 'endurable'.

गदमदचरयमश्चानुपसर्गे ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद-मद-चर-यमः, च, अनुपसर्गे, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गद मव चर यमः, एतेभ्यश्चानुपसर्गेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरेराङि चागुरौ ॥

100. The affix **ज्यत्** comes after the roots **गृ** 'to speak', **मद** 'to be mad', **चर** 'to go, to eat', and **यम** 'to restrain', when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus **गद्यम्** 'what is to be spoken, *i. e.* prose'; **मद्यम्** 'wine'; **चर्यम्** 'what is to be followed'; **यम्यम्** 'what is to be restrained'.

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a preposition'? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take **ज्यत्**; thus **प्रगाद्यम्**; **प्रमाद्यम्** &c.

The root **यम्** would have taken the affix **ज्यत्** by sūtra 98 also, as it ends in **म** and is preceded by **अ**; its separate enumeration in this sūtra is in order to show, that the compound verb **यम्** will not take the affix **ज्यत्**. Therefore with regard to **यम्**, this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule and not a *vidhi* or original rule.

Vart :—The root **चर** when preceded by the preposition **आच्** takes the **ज्यत्** affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus **आचर्यो देशः** 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes **ज्यत्**; thus **आचर्यः** 'a preceptor'.

अवद्यपययवर्या गह्यपणितव्यानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥

अवद्य-पयय-वर्याः, गह्य-पणितव्य-अनिरोधेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवद्य पयय वर्या इत्येते षष्ठा निपात्यन्ते गह्यं पणितव्य अनिरोध इत्येतेऽप्येव
अथासंख्यम् ॥

101. The words अवद्य, पयय and वर्या are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अवद्यं पापं 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुद्यम्. This is formed by adding the affix क्यप् to the root वृ by III. 1. 106. So also पययः कम्बलः 'saleable blanket'; पय्याः गौः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पाण्यम्, formed by the addition of प्यत्. So also शतेन वर्या 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वर्या 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वृथा from the root वृ 'to choose'. वर्या means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वर्या in the sūtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वार्या ऋत्विजः.

वह्यं करणम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह्यं, करणम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहर्पातोः करणे यत्प्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

102. The word वह्यं is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वह्य is derived from root वह 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i. e., that by which a thing is carried; as वह्यं शकटम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix ण्यत्; thus वाह्यः 'an ox'.

अर्यः स्वामिवैश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्यः, स्वामि-वैश्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋ गतो, अस्माप्यति प्रातं, स्वामिवैश्ययोरभिधेययोर्यत्प्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतो ऽनाव इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राते, स्वामिन्यन्तोदात्तत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

103. The word अर्य is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaiśya'.

The root ऋ 'to go', would have taken प्यत् by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes यत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaiśya' caste. As अर्यः स्वामी, 'honored lord', अर्यो वैश्यः 'honored Vaisya'.

Vart: Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix यत् makes the udātta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्य, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaisya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix ण्यत्; as भार्यो ब्राह्मणः 'the respectable Brāhmaṇa'.

उपसर्गो कात्या प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गो, कात्या,
प्रजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग्येति निपात्यते कात्या चेत्प्रजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्गो is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्गो is formed by adding यत् affix to the root ह् 'to move', compounded with the preposition उप. The word कात्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्गो गौः 'the cow fit for the bull'; उपसर्गो वडवा 'the mare fit for the horse'.

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix ण्यत् will be used; as उपसर्गो शरदि मधुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

अजर्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजर्यम्, संगतम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजर्यमिति निपात्यते संगतं चेद्भवति ॥

105. The word अजर्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजर्यम् is formed from the root जृ by the addition of यत्, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ + जृ + यत् = अजर्यम्.

Thus अजर्यं नोऽस्तु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजर्यमार्यसंगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजरित कम्बलः 'undecaying blanket'.

वदः सुपि क्यप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वदः, सुपि, क्यप्, च,
(यत्, अनुपसर्गो) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदधातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गो क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च ॥

106. After the root वद् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्यप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 100 ante. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix यत् is also employed. The word सुपि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus वद + वद् + क्यप् = वद + वद् + यत् = वदोद्यम्; वद + वद् + यत् = वदवद्यम् 'told by the Vedas or Brahman'. Similarly सत्योद्यम् or सत्यवद्यम् 'truth-mouthed'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise वद् + यत् = वाद्यम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe प्रवाद्यम् 'a rumour' formed by the affix वयत् and not by यत् or क्यप्.

भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, भावे, [(अनुपसर्गे, सुपि, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः सुबन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. After the root भू 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix क्यप् is employed to denote condition (bhâva).

The words सुपि and अनुपसर्गे of previous sūtras are understood in this. The *anuvritti* of यत् does not cover this aphorism. As ब्रह्मभुयं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः 'gone to or arrived at Brahmahood; देवभुयं = देवत्वं गतः 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhâva* of this sūtra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take यत्; as भू + यत् = भो + यत् = भव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रबध्यम्.

हनस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, त, च, (सुपि, अनुपसर्गे, क्यप्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति तकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

108. After the root हन् 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix क्यप् in denoting condition, and the letter त is the substitute of its final.

The phrases सुपि अनुपसर्गे and भावे are understood in this sūtra.

As ब्रह्म + हन् + क्यप् = ब्रह्म + हत् + य = ब्रह्महत्य, (VI. 1. 71) ब्रह्महत्या 'Brahman-murder'. So also अश्वहत्या 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is घातः 'a blow' (हन् + णिच् + घञ्). This verb does not take the affix क्यप् in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रयातो वर्तते 'there is a combat'.

एतिस्तुशास्वद्वजुषः क्यप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु-शास्व-द्व-द्व-जुषः, क्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एति स्तु शास् वृ द्व जुषः इत्येतेभ्यः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शंसिबुहि गुह्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाट्ट पूर्वार्द्धेः संतात्रानुपसर्ख्यानम् ॥

109. After the verbs इ 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', शास् 'to govern', वृ 'to choose', इ 'to respect' and जुप् 'to please', comes the affix क्यप्.

The anuvritti of सुप्, अनुपसर्गे and भावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix क्यप् after the above verbs. Thus इ + क्यप् = इ + त + य (VI. 1. 71) = इत्यः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added by Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a कृत् affix, with an indicatory प follows'. So also स्तु + क्यप् = स्तुत्यः 'to be praised'; शास् + क्यप् = शिस् + य (आ being changed into इ by VI. 4. 34) = शिष्यः 'to be instructed i. e. a pupil'. So also वृ + क्यप् = वृत्यः 'to be chosen'; आहृ + क्यप् = आहृत्यः 'to be honoured'; जुप् + क्यप् = जुष्यः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of क्यप् was coming from the previous sūtra 100, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules such as 125 of this chapter should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires यत् 'after the verb स्तु, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अवश्य स्तुत्यः 'must be praised'.

By वृ in the sūtra the root वृम् is intended to be taken, and not the root वृह्. The equivalent derivative of the latter is वार्यः as वार्या ऋषिर्वजः.

Vart.—The roots शस् 'to praise' दुह् 'to milk' and गृह् 'to cover' optionally take the affix क्यप्. As शस्यम् or संस्यम् (VI. 4. 37); दुह्यम् or दौह्यम्, गृह्यम् or गोह्यम्.

Vart.—The verb अंज् 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition आह् takes the affix क्यप् when used as an appellative. As आ + अंज् + क्यप् = आङ्यम् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

Obj.—How do you explain the form उपेयम् which is evidently formed from the root इ by adding यत्? According to the present sūtra, the affix क्यप् ought to have been added. Ans. The इ in उपेयम् is a different root from that taken here. The root in this sūtra is इण् of the Adādi class.

ऋदुपधाच्चाकृपिचृतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋह्-उपधात्, च, अकृपि-चृतेः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारोपधाच्च धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति कृपिचृती वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पाणि सूत्रेणैवैकव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समवपूर्वाच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short ऋ, the affix क्यप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs कृप् 'to be able', and चृत 'to hurt'.

Thus वृत् + क्यप् = वृश्यम्; so also वृध्यम्. But कृप् and चृत् will form कर्तव्यम्, and चर्यम्.

Why have we used the letter त् in कर्त? It is to indicate that short ऋ

is meant and not long कृ (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root कृत् will take ण्यत् and form कीर्यम्.

Vart :—The root सृज् takes the affix ण्यत् when compounded with the word पाणि. Thus पाणिसर्ग्यं रज्जुः 'a rope'.

Vart :—The root सृज् when preceded by both सम् and अव takes ण्यत् as समवसर्ग्यः.

ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवतीकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

111. The affix क्यप् is employed after the root खन 'to dig', and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन् + क्यप् = ख + ई + य = खेयम् 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sūtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the अ of खन् would have been lengthened into आ before the affix क्यप्.

भृजोऽसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजः, अ-संज्ञायाम्, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृजो धातोर्असंज्ञायां विषये क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संपूर्वादिभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्यप् is employed after the verb भृज् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृ + क्यप् = भृय Pl. भृत्याः 'those who ought to be supported' i. e. 'servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe भृ + ण्यत् = भार्यः 'a Kshatriya'.

Vart :—The use of *kyap* is optional when this verb takes the preposition सम्. Thus संभृत्याः or संभार्याः.

मृजेर्विभाषा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, विभाषा, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृजेर्धातोर्विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्यप् optionally comes after the root मृज् 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prāpta-vibhāṣā*. By rule 110 ante, the root मृज् having a penultimate कृ would have necessarily taken *kyap*; this sūtra declares an option. As परिमृज्यः or परिमार्ग्यः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved :—

परिमृज् + ण्यत् (III. 1. 124) = परिमृग् + य (VII. 3. 52) = परिमार्ग्य (VII. 2. 114)

राजसूयसूर्यमृषोद्यरुच्यकुप्यकृष्टपच्यअव्यश्याः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥

राजसूय-सूर्य-मृषोद्य-रुच्य-कुप्य-कृष्ट-पच्य-अव्यश्याः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजसूय सूर्य मृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य अव्यश्या इत्येते शब्दाः क्यपि निपादन्ते ॥

114. The words राजसूय सूर्य मृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य and अव्यश्या are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix क्यप्.

Thus राज्ञा सोतव्यः or राज्ञा इह सूर्यते, राज + सू + क्यप् = राजसूयः 'the Rajasūya or coronation sacrifice'.

Similarly द्यु or सू + क्यप् = सूर्यः 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरति) in the sky; or that which impels (सुवति) creation to action. मृष + वद + क्यप् = मृषोद्यम् 'false speech'; this is an exception to rule 106, by which वत् would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रोचते ऽसौ, रुच् + क्यप् = रुच्यः 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुप् + क्यप् = कुप्यम् 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)'; the other form is गोप्यम्। कृष्ट + पच् = कृष्टपच्यः 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. न द्ययते = अव्यश्याः 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

भिद्योदुधौ नदे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिद्य-उदुधौ, नदे, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिदेरुद्धौ च क्यप् निपादयते नदं ऽभिधेये ॥

115. The words भिद्य and उदुध are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप् when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिद् + क्यप् = भिद्यः 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhidya river.

ऊर्द्ध + क्यप् = उदुध 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river; the द्ध is changed into ध.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used; thus भेत्ता and उज्झिता.

पुष्यसिद्धौ नक्षत्रे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्य-सिद्धौ, नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषे सिधेऽधिकरणे क्यप् निपादयते नक्षत्रे ऽभिधेये ॥

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्ध are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप् when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष् + क्यप् = पुष्यः 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सिध् + क्यप् = सिद्धः 'the asterism Siddhya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are पोषण 'nourishing', सिधनम् 'accomplishing'.

विपूयविनीयजित्या मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपूय-
विनीय-जित्याः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हलिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूय विनीय जित्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं मुञ्जकल्कहलि इत्येते
त्रयेषु बोध्यं ॥

117. The words विपूय, विनीय and जित्य are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि+पू+क्यप् = विपूयः etymologically 'that which has to be purified to make rope'; वि+नी+क्यप् = विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि+क्यप् = जित्य 'a plough that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विपात्यम्, विनेयम् and जेयम्.

प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेऽह्नुदसि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिभ्यां,
ग्रहेः, अह्नुदसि, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ग्रहेः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति अह्नुदसि विषये ॥

118. The verb ग्रह 'to seize', preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix क्यप् in the Vedic literature.

Thus मत्तस्य न प्रतिगृह्यम् ; तस्मान्नापिगृह्यम् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिग्राह्यम् and अपिग्राह्यम्.

पदास्त्रैरिवाह्यापत्येषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्त्रैरि-
वाह्या-पत्येषु, च, (ग्रहेः, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेऽस्त्रैरिति वाह्यायां पत्ये चायं ग्रहेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The root ग्रह takes the affix क्यप्, when it means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रगृह्यम् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sūtra I. 1. 11. So also अदगृह्यम्.

The word अस्त्रैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus गृह्यकाः शुकाः 'the captive parrots'.

The word बाह्य means 'situated outside'. Thus ग्रामगृह्यां सेना 'an army lying outside the village'. The word बाह्या being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from ग्रह must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word पत्ये is derived from पक्ष 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवगृह्याः 'siding with or being the partisans of Vāsudeva'. So also अर्जुनगृह्याः 'belonging to the party of Arjun'.

विभाषा कृदृषोः ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृ-वृषोः, (क्यप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृषो वृषश्च विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. After the verbs कृम् 'to do', and वृष् 'to rain' the affix क्यप् is optionally employed.

The root कृ would have taken the affix ण्यत् by 124, and the verb वृष् would necessarily have taken क्यप् by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus: कृ+क्यप् = कृत्यम् 'to be done'; or कृ+ण्यत् = कार्यम्. So also वृष्यम् or वष्यम् 'stimulating'.

युग्यं च पत्रे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युग्यम्, च, पत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युग्यमिति निपात्यते पत्रं चेद्भवति ॥

121. The word युग्यम् is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पत्र means that by which a thing is carried. Thus युग्यो गो 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. युग्यो हस्ती 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. युज्+क्यप् = युग्यम्. The ज् is changed into ग. When not meaning a carrier or a carriage, it has the form योग्यं.

अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावस्यद्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमाशब्दः सहायैवर्त्तते, तस्मिन्नुपपदे वसेर्द्धातोः कालेऽधिकरणे एतत्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्रान्यतरस्यां वृद्धपाभावो निपात्यते ॥

122, Optionally the word अमावस्या is irregularly formed.

The word अमा means 'along' or 'together'. अमा in composition with the root वस् 'to dwell', takes the affix ण्यत् in the sense of location of time. Optionally the *Vriiddhi* is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अमावास्या or अमावस्या.

The final त् in अमावस्यत् is indicatory and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अमावस्या or अमावास्या are the same word, and *a fortiori* a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a paribhāṣhā which declares एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्तरवम्; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sūtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अमावास्याया वा is made applicable to the form अमावस्या also.

छन्दसि निष्ठक्य-देवहूय-प्रणीयो-उन्नीयो-उच्छिष्य-मर्य-स्तर्या-ध्वर्य-खन्य-
खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ्य-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचार्य-
पृडानि ॥ छन्दसि, निष्ठक्य-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उन्नीय-उच्छिष्य-मर्य-स्तर्या-ध्वर्य-
खन्य-खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ्य-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचार्य-
पृडानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठकर्थादयः शब्दाश्छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिरण्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly :—निष्ठक्य, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उन्नीय, उच्छिष्य, मर्य, स्तर्या, ध्वर्य, खन्य, खान्य, देवयज्या, आपृच्छ्य, प्रतिषीव्य, ब्रह्मवाद्य, भाव्य, स्ताव्य and उपचार्यपृड.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्ठक्य is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition निस्, and the affix ण्यत्, instead of क्यप् which is the regular affix, by 110 ; निः+कृत्+ण्यत् = निः+कृक्+य (the root कृत् transformed into कृक् by transposition) = निष्ठक्य. As निष्ठक्ये चिन्वीत् पगुकाः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root हूयते 'to call' or हू 'to invoke', the affix क्यप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, देव+हू or हू+क्यप् = देवहूयः. So also प्र+नी (to lead)+क्यप्=प्रणीयः; उत्+नी+क्यप्=उन्नीयः; उत्+शिप् (to leave)+क्यप्=उच्छिष्यम्; मृ (to die)+यत्=मर्यः; स्तृ (to cover)+यत्=स्तर्या; it is always feminine. धृ (to bend)+यत्=ध्वर्यः; खन् (to dig)+यत्=खन्यः; खन्+ण्यत्=खान्यः; देव (God)+यज् (to sacrifice)+यत्=देवयज्या; always used as feminine. आ+पृच्छ् (to ask)+क्यप्=आपृच्छ्यः; प्रति+सीव (to sew)+क्यप्=प्रतिषीव्यः; ब्रह्मण+वद् (to speak)+ण्यत्=ब्रह्मवाद्यः; भू (to be)+ण्यत्=भाव्यः; स्तु (to praise)+ण्यत्=स्ताव्यः; उप+चि (to collect)+ण्यत्+पृडं=उपचार्यपृडम्. This last word is formed then only when the word पृड follows: and when the sense is that of 'gold'. When it does not mean 'gold', the form is उपचार्यपृडम् ।

ऋहलोर्ण्यत् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ-हलोः, ण्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्हन्ताच्च ण्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

124. The affix ण्यत् comes after a verb that ends in ऋ (long or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase ऋहलोः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृ+ण्यत्=कार्यम् 'to be made'; हृ+ण्यत्=

हायं nom. sing. हायम् 'to be taken'; धृ + ण्यत् = धायं; 'to be held'; वच् + ण्यत् = वक् + ण्यत् (VII. 3. 52) = वाक्यं (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पच् + ण्यत् = पाक्यम्.

ओरावश्यके ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, आवश्यके (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदणान्ताद्धातोर्ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति आवश्यके धात्वर्थे ॥

125. The affix ण्यत् comes after a root that ends in the letter उ long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix यत्. Thus लु + ण्यत् = लौ + य = लाव्यं (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु + ण्यत् = पाव्यम् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लव्य 'to be cut'. The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada, the affix ण्यत् is employed: or 2ndly when, the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the ण्यत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words अवश्यलाव्यं &c.; we could not form the word लाव्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाव्य, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpuruṣa* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमञ्च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-
-रपि-लपि-त्रपि-चमः, च, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्, पूर्वक सुनोते: यु वपि रपि लपि त्रपि चम् इत्येतेभ्यश्च ण्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. The affix ण्यत् comes after the verbs आसु 'to distil', यु 'to join', वप् 'to sow', रप् 'to speak distinctly' लप् 'to prate', चप् 'to be ashamed', and चम् 'to drink'.

The verb आसु is a compound verb formed by the preposition आङ्, and the root सु. This sūtra debars यत्, that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus आसु + ण्यत् = आसाव्यम्, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also याव्यम्, बाव्यम्, राव्यम्, लाव्यम्, चाव्यम् and आचाव्यम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra is to indicate that the roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus इम् + ण्यत् = इव्यम् ॥

आनाग्योऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाग्यः, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाग्य इति निपात्यते अनित्येऽभिधेये । नयतेराङ् पूर्वोण्यत्प्रत्ययो नो निपात्यते ॥

127. The word **आनाय्यः** is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed :—**आङ् + नी + ण्यत् = आ + नै + य = आनाय्यः**, (the ऐ being changed into आङ् by the analogy of VI. 1. 79).

As **आनाय्यो दक्षिणाग्निः**. This is a species of Dakṣiṇāgni fire. As this fire is *brought* from the Gārhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called ānāyya. This however, is not co-extensive with Dakṣiṇāgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gārhapatya, and has the same *source* with the Dakṣiṇāgni and Ahavaniyāgni. A Dakṣiṇāgni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gārhapatya fire. When it is taken from the last *i. e.* from Gārhapatya fire, it is ānāyya Dakṣiṇāgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gārhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called ānāyya ; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is **आनेय** meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रणाय्योऽसम्मत्तौ ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणाय्यः, असम्मत्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रणाय्य इति निपात्यते ऽसंमत्तावभिधेये ॥

128. The word **प्रणाय्यः** is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word **असंमत्ति** is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus **प्रणाय्यश्चोरः** 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is **प्र + नी** 'to lead' + **यत् = प्रणेयः** 'tractable'.

The word in the sūtra is **असंमत्ति** which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word **संमत्ति** also means **अभिज्ञाष** or 'desire'; and **असंमत्ति** would therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word **असंमत्ति** means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence :—

इवेष्टाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रब्रूयात्, प्रणाय्याय भन्तेवासिने नान्यस्मै कस्मैचन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पाय्यसांनाय्यनिकाय्यधाय्या मानहविर्निवाससामिधेनीषु ॥

१२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाय्य-सांनाय्य-निकाय्य-धाय्याः, मान-हविः-निवास-सामिधेनीषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाय्यादत्रः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं माने हविषि निवासे सामिधेन्यां सामिधेनाम् ॥

129. The words पाय्य, सात्ताय्य, निक्ताय्य and धाव्या are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—मा (to measure) + य्यत् = पाय्यम्, the म being changed into प and another य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेयम् 'to be measured' (मा + य्यत् = मे + य VI. 4. 65 = मेय). सम् + नी (to lead) + य्यत् = सान्नाय्यम् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सन्नेयम्। नि + च्चि (to collect) + य्यत् = नि + चै + य = नि + चाय + य = निक्ताय्यः 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निच्येय। धा (to put) + य्यत् = धाव्या (fem.). The sāmādheni is the name of certain *Riṣ* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेय।

क्रतौ कुण्डपाय्यसंचार्यौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतौ, कुण्डपाय्य-संचार्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डपाय्य संचार्य इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्यन्ते क्रतावभिधेये ॥

130. The words कुण्डपाय्यः and संचार्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुण्ड + पा (to drink) + य्यत् = कुण्ड + पा + य + य (VII. 3. 33) = कुण्डपाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सम् + च्चि (to collect) + य्यत् = संचार्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुण्डपानम् and संचेयः.

अग्नौ परिचार्योपचार्यसमूह्याः ॥ १३१ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, परिचार्य-उपचार्य-समूह्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिचार्य उपचार्य समूह्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते अग्नावभिधेये ॥

131. The words परिचार्यः, उपचार्यः and समूह्यः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि + च्चि + य्यत् = परि + चै + य = परि + चाय + य = परिचार्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the ऐ being changed into आम् by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचार्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. सम् + बृह + य्यत् = सम् + ऊह् + य = समूह्यः 'a kind of fire'. समूह्यं चिन्वीत पशुकामः let him kindle the Samūhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, परिच्येयम् 'to be heaped', उपच्येयम् 'to be increased', संवाह्यम् 'to be carried'.

चित्पाग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्य-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्यशब्दोऽग्निचित्याशब्दश्च निपात्येते ॥

132. The words चित्य and अग्निचित्य are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्यः comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire *i. e.* that which is collected. As चित्योऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word अग्निचित्य means, arranging the fire. The affix च has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तुक् (त्). These words have *udatta* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चेद्यम् 'to be gathered'.

एवुल्लुचौ ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एवुल्ल-लुचौ, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यो ण्वुल्लुचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

133. The affixes ण्वुल् (अक) and लुच् (ह) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कृ 'to do' + ण्वुल् = कार + वु (VII. 2. 115) = कार + अक (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारकः 'doer.' कृ + लुच् = कर् + ह (VII. 3. 84) = कर्तृ nom. sing. कर्ता. So also हारकः and हर्ता.

The च् of लुच् is not indicative, but distinguishes this affix from हन्; the simple ह includes both हच् and हन्, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-ग्रहि-पचादिभ्यः, ल्यु, णिनि, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निभ्योगणोऽयल्लयः प्रत्यया यथासंख्यं भवन्ति, नन्द्यादिभ्यो ल्युः, ग्रहादिभ्यो णिनिः, पचादिभ्योऽचः ॥

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द 'to be happy', ग्रह 'to take' and पच् 'to cook' there are the affixes ल्यु (अन) णिनि (इन्) and अच (भ) respectively.

The word *ādi* meaning *et cetera*, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द class, comes the affix ल्यु; after the verbs of ग्रह class, comes the affix णिनि; after the verbs of पच् class, comes the affix अच्.

The नन्दादि verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhātupāṭha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapāṭha. Thus नन्द् + ल्यु = नन्द् + यु (I 3. 8) = नन्द् + अन (VI. 1. 1) = नन्दन nom. sing. नन्दनः 'son' (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following *causa-*

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names :—वासि—वासनः or वाशनः ; मदि—मदनः ; वृषि—वृषणः (or भूषणः) ; साधि—साधनः ; वर्धि—वर्धनः ; शोभि—शोभनः and रोचि—रोचनः.

The following derivatives are names :—सहि—सहनः ; तपि—तपनः ; वमि—वमनः ;

So also the following words :—जल्पनः, रमणः, र्पणः, संक्रन्दनः, संकर्षणः, संहर्षणः, जनार्दनः, यवनः, पयनः, मधुसूदनः, विभोषणः, जवणः (the ण in जवण is irregular), चित्तविनाशनः, कुजदमनः and शत्रुदमनः.

The प्रहादि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are, however, those verbs :—ग्रह्—ग्रहिन् nom. ग्राही ; उत्सह—उत्साहिन् nom. उत्साही ; उहस्—उहासिन् ; उद्भास्—उद्भासिन् ; स्था—स्थायिन् ; मन्त्र—मन्त्रिन् ; संमर्ष—संमर्षिन्. So also the verbs रक्ष, भु, वत्, वप् and शा preceded by नि ; as, निरक्षिन्, निभ्राविन्, निवासिन्, निवापिन्, निशायिन्. The verbs याचि, व्याह, संव्याह, व्रज, वह and वस take णिन् when preceded by the negative particle ; as, भयाचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंव्याहारिन्, भद्राजिन्, भवादिन् and अवासिन्. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings : as, अकारिन्, अहारिन्. So also, अविनायिन्, अविशायिन्, विशायिन्, विपयिन् (meaning a place) विशायिन् and विषायिन्, अभिभाविन् अपराधिन्, उपरोधिन्, परिभविन् and परिभाविन् ।

The following are पचादि words :—पच, वच, वप, वव, वल, तप, पत नद्, भपद्, वस् गरद् स्रवद्, तरद्, चौरद्, माहद्, जर, मर, स्तर, लम, सृद्, हेवद्, मोरद्, सेव, मेव, क्रोध, व्रण, वंश, वश, वम्भ, जारभर, श्वपच, मेघ, कीष, क्षप, मव, रज, क्षीपद्, चरद् ।

The द् in नद् &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. I. 15). The पचादि class is an आकृतिगणः ।

अडिप्रधिः सर्वधातुभ्यः पठ्यन्ते च पचादयः ।

अण् वाधनार्थमेवं स्यात् सिध्यन्ति श्वपचादयः ॥

In fact the affix अच् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अच्, therefore, debars अण् and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the forms like श्वपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपधञ्जाप्रीकरः कः १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपध-ञा-प्री-किरः,

कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगुपधेभ्यो जानतेः प्रीणातेः किरत्तेश्च कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by इ, उ or ऋ (long or short), and after the verbs ता 'to know', प्री 'to please', and कृ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (भ).

Thus वित्तिप् + क = वित्तिप nom. sing. वित्तिपः. So also विजिह्वः 'inscription'; बुधः 'who knows'; कृशः 'lean'; ज्ञा + क = ज्ञः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64); प्री + क =

प्रियः 'what pleases' ; कृ+क=कि+अ (VII. 1. 100)=किर्+अ (I. 1. 51)=किरः 'who scatters' i. e. 'a hog'.

The words देव 'God', सेव 'service' and भेव 'ram', should be read in the पचादि class of the last sūtra, being formed by the affix अच् and not by क.

आतश्चोपसर्गे १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तंभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. Also after a verb ending in long आ when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavāda* of III. 1. 40, and debars the affix छ. Thus प्रस्था+क=प्रस्थ+अ=प्रस्थः (VI. 4. 64). सुम्नै+क=सुम्न+अ=सुम्नः 'very weary' (आ substituted for ऐ by VI. 1. 45). सुम्नै+क=सुम्ना+अ=सुम्नः 'very languid'.

The final आ is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long आ when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or ठ.

पाघ्राह्मा धेट् दृशः शः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा-घ्रा-ह्मा-धेट्-दृशः, शः, (उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जिघृक्षेः संज्ञायां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

137. The affix श (अ) is employed after the roots पा 'to drink', घ्रा 'to smell', ह्मा 'to blow', धेट् 'suck', and दृश 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत्+पा+श=उत्+पिच्+अ (VII. 3. 78)=उत्पिचः nom. sing. उत्पिचः ; so also विपिचः ; उज्जिघृक्षः and विजिघृक्षः । उत्+ह्मा+श=उत्+धम्+अ= (VII. 3. 78); उद्धमः ; विधनः ; उत्+धे+श=उद्धयः ; विधयः ; so also उत्+दृश्+श=उत्पश्यः, (VII. 3. 78). so also विपश्यः ;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sūtra. According to them the forms like पश्यः &c., can be formed also.

The affix श, of which श् is indicatory, the real affix being अ, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses ; for it is a sārvaadhātuka affix there ; see sūtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the root घ्रा, when the word to be formed is a name. As वि+आ+घ्रा+क=व्याघ्रः 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the affix श.

अनुपसर्गास्त्रिम्पविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेतिसातिसाहिभ्यश्च ॥
१३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिम्प-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति-
साति-साहिभ्यः, च (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गंभ्यो लिम्पादिभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नौ लिम्पेरिति यक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गवादिषु विन्दे संज्ञायाम् ॥

138. The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिम्प, विन्द and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उदेजि, चेति, साति and साहि.

Thus लिम्पः 'smearing'; विन्दः 'acquiring'; धारयः 'holding'; पारयः 'ferrying'; वेद्यः 'knowing'; उदेजयः 'shaking'; चेतयः 'perceiving'; सातयः, and साहयः.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रलिपः; here the affix is क.

Var1 :—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix श. As निलिम्पा 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

Var2 :—The affix श is employed after विन्द when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्दः 'Krishna' (protector of cows); अरविन्दः 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्योः,
विभाषा, (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दात्रो धात्रश्च विभाषा शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix श is optionally employed, after the root दा 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debars ण. Thus दत्तः 'giving'; or दायः 'inheritance'; दधः 'holding' or धायः 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed; as प्रदः, प्रधः.

उज्जलितिकसन्तेभ्यो रुः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उज्जल्-इति-कसन्तेभ्यः,

रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उज्जलीनादिरयेवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कसगतावित्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तनोतेर्ण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with उज्जल 'to shine' and ending with कस 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix ण is optionally employed,

The word इति in ड्वलिति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhūdi* class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhātupātha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to Sidhānta Kaumudī.

This debars the affix अच्; as ड्वलः or ड्वलः; चलः or चलः.

The affix ण (भ) having an indicatory ए causes the vṛddhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix ण is not used, then अच् is used, and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच्; as प्रड्वलः 'luminous'.

Vart.—The verb तन 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix ण; as अवतान. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तन् necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

श्याऽऽद्यधातुसंस्तृतीयावसावहृलिहश्लिषश्वसश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि॥

श्या-आद्-व्यध-आस्तु-संस्तु-अतीण्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष-श्वसः, च, (णः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयैङ् आकारान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः व्यध आस्तु संस्तु अतीण् अवसा अवहृ निह श्लिष श्वस इत्येतेभ्यश्च एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix ण is employed after the following verbs also :—इयै 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, व्यध 'to pierce', आस्तु 'to pain', संस्तु 'to flow', अतीण् 'to pass on', अवसा 'to complete', अवहृ 'to take away', निह 'to lick', श्लिष 'to embrace', and श्वस 'to breathe'.

The root इयै, before affixes, becomes इया, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited ण. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins क् when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb श्या.

Thus अवश्यायः 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः 'catarrh', शयः 'inheritance', धायः 'having', व्यधः 'pain', आस्तावः 'wound', संस्तावः 'flow', अह्यायः 'transgression', अवसायः 'conclusion', अवहारः 'taken away', लेहः 'licking', श्लेषः 'embracing', श्वासः 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-न्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुनोतेर्नयतेश्चानुपसर्गे एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix ण is employed after the verbs दु 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus हु + ण = हौ + भ (VII. 2. 115) = हावः (VI. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी + ण = नी + भ = नायः 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe ग्रहः 'burning'; प्रणयः 'friendship'.

विभाषा ग्रहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ग्रहः, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा ग्रहार्थातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भवतंश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

143. The affix ण is optionally employed after the verb ग्रह् 'to seize'.

This debars the affix अच्. Thus ग्रह् + ण = ग्रह् + भ (VII. 2. 116) = ग्राहः 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or ग्रह् + अच् = ग्रहः 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ण is *always* used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is ग्राह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is ग्रह.

Vart :—This rule should be extended to the root भू 'to be' also. Thus :—भावः 'condition' and भवः 'existence'.

गेहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेहे, कः, (ग्रहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहार्थातोः कप्रत्ययो भवति गेहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb ग्रह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus ग्रह् + क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहम् 'a house'. The र is changed into ऋ by the rule of *samprasāraṇa*. The plural form गृहाः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृहं meaning 'house' will be गृहाणि.

शिल्पिनि ष्वुन् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पिनि, ष्वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ष्वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नृत्तिखनिरस्त्रिभ्यः णिगणनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix ष्वुन् (अक) comes after a verb; when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Vart :—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृत् 'to dance', खन् 'to dig' and रञ्ज 'to dye'.

Thus नृत् + ष्वुन् = नर्त + भक (VII. 1. 1) = नर्तकः 'dancer'. The letter व is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory व् form their feminine gender by the affix ङीप्. Thus

the feminine of नत्तक is नत्तकी ; so also खनकः 'miner', fem. खनकी ; रजकः 'washer-man', fem. रजकी.

In the case of the root रज् the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahābhāṣya*, only two verbs are governed by this sūtra namely नृत् and खन्. According to him, the verb रज् takes the affix कुन्. Thus रज् + कुन् = रज् + वृ (VI. 4. 37) = रज् + भक् (VII. 1. 1) = रजकः, feminine रजका.

गस्थकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, यकन् (शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेस्थकन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

146. The affix यकन्, (यक) comes after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गे + यकन् = गाथकः (VI. 1. 45) 'a singer', fem. गाथिका.

एयुट् च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एयुट्, च (गः, शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते एयुट्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

147. The affix एयुट् is also employed after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word गा of the last sūtra is drawn into this. Thus गे + एयुट् = गा + जन (VII. 1. 1) = गायनः fem. गायनी ; the च is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (*yoga-vibhāga*) relating to गे is for the purpose of the sūtras that follow. Had गस्थकन् and एयुट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvritti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sūtras. But it is intended that the *anuvritti* of एयुट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhāga* or division of one sūtra into two.

हश्च ब्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, च, ब्रीहि-कालयोः, (एयुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेजिहोतेश्च धातोर्एयुट् प्रत्ययो भवति ब्रीहौ काले च कर्त्तरि ॥

148. After the verb हा, also the affix एयुट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb हा denotes two verbs हाक 'to abandon' and हाङ् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming जहाति and जिहोते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हा + एयुट् = हायनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahāti* 'leaves off' all water) हायनः 'a year' (that which *jihīte* 'goes through' all conditions.)

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udatta is on the middle ; in the other, on the last.

प्रसृ(स्तु)स्वः समभिहारे वुन् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-सृ-(स्तु)-स्वः,
समभिहारे, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सृ (स्तु) लृ इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs प्र 'to go', सृ 'to move', प्र 'to flow' and लृ 'to cut', the affix वुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, प्र + वुन् = प्री + भक् (VII. I. 1) = प्रवक् ; so also, सरक्., स्रवक्., and जवक्..

The word *samabhihāra* in the sūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

आशिषि च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, (वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गन्धमानायां धातुमात्राद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix वुन् is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, जीव् + वुन् = जीवक् : 'may he live' ; नन्दक् : 'may he be happy'.

The word आशिषि means a sort of prayer ; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.



अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

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कर्मण्यण् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अण्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपपत्ते धातोरण्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शीलिकामिभ्यश्चरिभ्यो णः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईक्षिभिमिभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix अण् comes after a verbal root when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object ; as कुम्भम् करोति 'he makes a pot' ; here वृत् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikārya* object ; as काण्डजावः 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prāpya* object ; as वेदाध्यायः 'the reading of Veda' ; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples :—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकारः 'a potter' and नगरकारः 'a city-builder' ; of the second, we have काण्डजावः 'a branch-cutter' and शरजावः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, वेदाध्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चापाठः 'the reading of Charcha'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village', आदित्यं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', 'हिमवतं शृणोति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

Vart:—The affix ण comes after the verbs शील्, काम्, भक्ष् and आचर् and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As मांसशीलः 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसशीला ; मांसकामः 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकामा ; मांसभक्षः 'carnivorous', fem. मांसभक्ष्ता ; and कल्याणाचारः 'good-conducted', fem. कल्याणाचारा ।

Vart:—The affix **अण** comes after the roots **ईक्ष** 'to look' and **क्षम्** 'to forbear' under similar circumstances. As **सुखप्रतीक्षः**, fem. **सुखप्रतीक्षा** 'expecting happiness'; **बहुक्षमः** fem. **बहुक्षमा** 'much forbearing'.

हावामश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हा, वा, सः, च, (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्व्, वेम्, माङ्, एतेभ्यश्च कर्मण्युपपदेऽणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix **अण** comes after the root **ह्रस्व** 'to call', **वेम्** 'to weave', **माङ्** 'to measure', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix **क** (III. 2. 3); as **स्वर्गं + ह्रस्व + अण = स्वर्गं + हा + अ = स्वर्गं + हाय + अ** (VII. 3. 33) = **स्वर्गहायः** (the **य** is added by rule VII. 3. 33, 'when a kṛit affix with an indicatory **अण** or **म** follows, the augment **य** is added after the verbs that end in long **आ**). So also **तन्तुवायः**, **धान्यमायः** ।

आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गे, कः, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix **क** comes after a verbal root that ends in long **आ** when there is no upasarga preceding it and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars **अण**; as **गां + दा + क = गां + द + अ = गोदः** 'Giver of cows', (the long **आ** is elided by VI. 4. 64,) = So also, **कम्बलदः** 'who gives a blanket'; **पाणिच्छम्** 'what protects the rear'; **अङ्गुलिच्छम्** 'what protects the finger' (a thimble).

Why do we say 'when there is no upasarga'? Witness **गोसंदायः** 'who ceremoniously gives a cow', **वडवसंदाय** 'who ceremoniously gives a mare'. Here the compound verb **संदा** takes the affix **अण**.

सुपि स्यः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, स्यः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठतेः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix **क** comes after the root **स्था** when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb **स्था**, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As **समस्यः = समे तिष्ठति** 'who dwells in accessible position'; and **विषमस्यः** 'having an inaccessible position'.

This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—

- (1) सुप्ति ॥ The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word ; as द्वाभ्यां पिवति = द्वि + पा + क = द्विपः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' i.e. the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant'. So also पादपः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot). कच्छपः 'a tortoise' (that always protects its mouth by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).
- (2) सुप्तिस्थ. ॥ The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first as the verb स्था also ends in a long आ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आखूनामुरधानम् = आखूयः 'a swarm of rats'; so also शूलभोत्थः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुप्ति are understood in the sūtras that follow: viz: the word कर्मणि in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सुप्ति everywhere else.

तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकयोः,
परिमृज-अपनुदोः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः परिमृजापनुदोर्धत्त्वोः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आजस्यसुखाहरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कप्रकरणे मूलविभुजादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिमृज् 'to wash out' and अपनुद् 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects, respectively.

As तुन्द परिमृज् आस्ते 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकापनुदः पुत्रो जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

Vart.—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

Vart.—The epithet तुन्द परिमृज् is applied to a lazy person ; while तुन्द परिमार्जः means who clears his navel. So शोकापनुदः means giver of happiness, while शोकापनोद् means 'removal of sorrow'.

Vart.—The words मूलविभुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविभुजः 'a chariot', नखमुच्चः 'a bow', काकगृह 'sesamums', कुमुदम् (कौ मोदते) 'a lotus'.

प्रेदाज्ञः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, दा-ज्ञः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदतेर्जानातेश्च धातोः प्रेणोपसृष्टात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. The affix क comes after the root दा 'to give' and ज्ञा 'to know', when taking the preposition प्र and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sūtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long आ and had no *upasarga*. Now begins the case of verbs with *upasarga*. This debars the affix अण्; as सर्वप्रदः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all; liberal', पथिप्रज्ञः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with roads'. The long आ of दा and ज्ञा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking प्र'? With any other *upasarga* these verbs will take the general affix अण्; as गोसंहाय.

समिख्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि समि, ख्यः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्णात् ख्या इत्येतस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ख्या 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition सम्, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ख्या ends in long आ and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an *upasarga*, it would have taken the affix अण्. This debars अण्; as गोसंख्या (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' (गा संचष्टे).

गापोष्टक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि गा-पोः, टक्, (कर्मणि, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेः पिवतेश्च धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे अनुपसर्गे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुराशीधोः पिवतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs गै 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupasarga* is to be read again into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 3, though this *anuvritti* had temporarily lain dormant in sūtra 6 and 7. as being unnecessary. This debars क; of this affix इ and क are indicative the इ showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix ङीप् (IV. 1. 14)

As, शक्रं गायति = शक्र + गा + टक् = शक्रगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Sakra hymns'. सामगः 'singer of Sāma', fem. शक्रगी and सामगी ।

Vart.—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words सुरा and शीधु as its object,

This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुरापः fem. सुरापी 'wine-bibber'; शीधुपः fem. शीधुपी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surā and sidhu'? Observe क्षीरपा ब्राह्मणी 'the milk-drinking Brāhmaṇi'; formed by the affix क and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ई but by आ.

Why do we say 'when पृ means to drink'? When पृ means 'to protect' this affix is not used; as सुरापा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take टक् but अण्; as शकसंगाद्यः, सामसंगाद्यः ।

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as वा ब्राह्मणी सुरापी or सुरापा भवति नैनां देवाः पत्तिलोकं नयन्ति 'the gods do not carry that Brāhmaṇi to the regions of her husband who drinks wine'.

हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अनुद्यमने, अच्,
(कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्धातोरेनुद्यमने वर्त्तमानात् कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अच्प्रकरणं शक्तिनांगजांकुशयष्टितोमरघटघटीधनुष्यु ग्रहेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रेण धार्यये ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृम् when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The word उद्यमन means 'to raise a load'. Thus भृगं हरति = भृगहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer'; so रिक्पहरः 'an heir'. (हृ + अच् = हर + अ = हरः) (VII. 3. 84).

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix अण् will be employed; as भारहरः 'a burden-bearer, a porter'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when in composition with the words शक्ति 'spear', लाङ्गल 'plough', अंकुश 'goad', यष्टि 'staff', तोमर 'an iron club', घट 'jar', घटी 'a small jar', धनुष् 'a bow'; as शक्तिमहः 'a lancer', लाङ्गलमहः 'a plough-man', अंकुशमहः 'an elephant driver', यष्टिमहः 'a staff-bearer', तोमरमहः 'a club-bearer', घटमहः, घटीमहः 'a jar-bearer', धनुमहः 'a bow-bearer'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when the word सूत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding'; as सूत्रमहः 'a thread-holder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूत्रमाहः 'a thread-taker'.

वयसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयसि गम्यमाने हरतेः कर्मण्युपपदे ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

10. The affix अच् comes after the verb इञ् when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sūtra the verb इञ् has the sense of *udyamana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word वयस् means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place ; as अस्थिहरः 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up) ; कवचहरः क्षत्रियकुमारः 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear) the shield' ; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

आङि ताच्छील्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मणि, ह-
रतेः, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वाद्धरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix अच् comes after the verb इञ् (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition आम्, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word ताच्छील्यं means a natural inclination or habitual occupation ; as पुष्पाहरः (पुष्प + आहरति = पुष्प + आहर) 'he who has a natural tendency towards fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers' ; so also फलाहरः ।

Why do we say 'when denoting inclination' ? Otherwise the affix will be अण् ; as भारनाहरति = भाराहारः 'who brings load'.

अर्हः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, (कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हं पूजार्था, अस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix अच् comes after the verb अर्ह 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As पूजार्हा 'deserving of respect' ; so also गन्धार्या, मानार्हा ।

स्तम्बकर्णयो रमिजपोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्णयोः, रमि-
जपोः, (सुप्, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बकर्णं हत्येतयोः सुबन्तयोरुपपदयोर्धयासंख्यं रमिजपोर्धात्वोरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हस्तिस्तम्बकयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The affix अच् comes after the verb रम् 'to sport' and जप् 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words स्तम्भ 'a clump of grass' and कर्ण 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रम् is intransitive and the verb जप् can take an object under very limited circumstances; only namely when the object denotes *Sabda*; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvṛitti of the word सुप् from sūtra 4 into this, the anuvṛitti of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

Vart.—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्तम्भेरमते = स्तम्भेरमः 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णे जपति = कर्णेजपः 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अच् is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्तम्भे रन्ता 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णे जपिता मशकः 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शनि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शनि, धातोः, सं-
ज्ञायाम्, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शम्युपपदे धातुमात्रास्तंज्ञायां विषये ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अच् is employed after the verbal roots when शम् 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As शम् + कृ + अच् = शंकरः lit. 'who does good'. So also संभवः संबवः । All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhātu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvṛitti from sūtra III. 1. 91 ? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhātu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix ट्, that comes after the verb कृ in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word शम् is in composition. The affix अच् will be employed after the verb कृ and not the affix ट्, when शम् is an *upapada*, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III. 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of शंकर will be शंकरा, and not शंकरी, which, had the affix been ट्, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शंकरा means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकरणे शेतेः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, शेतेः, (सुप्, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोतेर्धातोराधिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे ऽच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पार्श्वदिष्पूसां ख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दिग्धसहपूर्वाच्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गिरौ डच्छन्दसि ॥

15. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **शी** 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e., in the locative case.

The word **सूप** (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As **छे शोते = खगयः** 'who lies in the sky'.

Vart.—The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **शी** when in composition with the words **पार्श्व** 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as **पार्श्वभ्यां शोते = पार्श्वगयः** 'who reclines on his sides', **उदरगयः** 'who lies on his stomach', **पृष्ठगयः** 'who lies on his back'.

Vart.—And when the verb **शी** is preceded by the word **दिग्धसह**; as **दिग्धेन सह शोते = दिग्धसहगयः** ॥

Vart.—So also when the words **उत्तान** &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As **उत्तानः शोते = उत्तानगयः** । **भवमूर्द्धा शोते = भवमूर्द्धागयः** ।

Vart.—In the Chhandas the affix **डच्** comes after the verb **शी** when in composition with the word **गिरि** in the locative. As **गिरौ शोते = गिरिशः** 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter **व** of **डच्** is indicatory denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरेः, टः, (अधिकरणे, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरेर्धातोराधिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे ट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix **ट** comes after the verb **चर** 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhikarana* of the last sūtra is understood in this. As **कुरुषु चरति = कुरुचरः** 'who goes among the Kurus'. **मद्रचरः** 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix **ट** the real affix is **अ**, the letter **ट** being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix **ङोप्**. (See. IV. 1. 14), as **कुरुचरी**, **मद्रचरी** ।

भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु,
च, (चरे, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना आदाय इत्येतेषूपपदे चरार्थातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ट is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and आदाय 'having taken'.

The *anuvritti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army'; आदायचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

पुरोग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्तेः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सर्तेः,
(टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् अग्रतस् अग्रे इत्येतेषूपपदे सर्तार्थातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ट comes after the verb सर् 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुरः, अग्रतः and अग्रे, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति = पुरःसरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also अग्रतः सरः and अग्रसरः 'going in front, a leader'.

पूर्वे कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, कर्त्तरि, (सर्तेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दे कर्त्तृवाचिन्नुपपदे सर्तार्थातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ट comes after the verb सर् 'to go', when पूर्व is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वः सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix अण् will be employed. As पूर्वदेशं सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

कृजो हेतुताच्छीलानुलोभ्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, हेतु-ता-
च्छील्य-आनुलोभ्येषु, (कर्मणि, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे करोतार्थातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति हेतौ ताच्छील्ये आनुलोभ्ये च गम्यमाने ।

20. The affix ट comes after the verb कृम् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छील्य means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. आनुज्ञोम्य comes from अनुज्ञोम meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हेतु, we have शोककरी कन्या 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; यशस्करी विद्या 'honorable science'; कुलकर धन 'the family making wealth'. Of ताच्छील्य, we have श्राद्धकर: 'who performs obsequies'; अर्थकर: 'who amasses wealth'. Of आनुज्ञोम्य, we have प्रेषकर: 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वचनकर: 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As कुम्भकार: 'potter', नगरकार: 'city-maker'.

दिवाविभानिशप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिबि-
बलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रक्षेत्र संख्याजङ्घाबाहुवह्येतद्भुनुररुषु ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥
दिवा-विभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-किं-लिपि-
लिबि-बलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-क्षेत्र-संख्या-जङ्घा-बाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-धनुस्-अ-
रुषु, (कर्मणि, सुप्, करोते, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवादिषूपपदेषु करोतेधातोःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्बहुषु कृञोऽङ्गविधानम् ॥

21. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the following words are in composition with it:— दिवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', भा: 'light', कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अनन्त 'endless', आदि 'beginning', बहु 'many', नान्दी 'benediction', किम् 'what', लिपि 'writing', लिबि 'writing', बलि 'oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', कर्तृ 'agent', चित्र 'painting', क्षेत्र 'field', words denoting numerals, जङ्घा 'thigh', बाहु 'hand', अहः 'day', यत् 'what', तत् 'that', धनुस् 'bow' and अरुस् 'wound'.

Both the words '*karma*' and '*sup*' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix ट comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last sūtra.

Thus दिवाकर: 'the sun.' The word दिवा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the upapada, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विभाकर: 'the sun' (light-maker); निशाकर: 'the moon' (the night-maker); प्रभाकर: 'the sun'; भास्कर: 'the sun' (the letter स is not changed into *visarga*, as it has been so read in the sūtra); कारकर: 'agent'; अन्तकर: 'death' (end-maker); अनन्तकर: 'magnifying to any extent'; आदिकर: 'the creator'; बहुकर: 'the busy'; नान्दीकर: 'the speaker of benediction'; किंकर: 'a servant'; लिपिकर: 'a

scribe'; लिखिकरः 'a scribe'; बलिकरः 'offering sacrifice'; भक्तिकरः 'a devotee'; कर्तृकरः 'an agent'; चित्रकरः 'a painter'; क्षेत्रकरः 'a cultivator'; एककरः 'doing only one thing'; द्विकरः 'doing two things'; त्रिकरः 'doing three things'; जह्वाकरः 'a runner, an express'; बाहुकरः 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; अहस्करः 'the sun'; तत्करः 'doing that'; यत्करः 'doing that'; धनुस्करः 'bow-maker'; अहस्करः 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix भच् comes after the verb कृ when किम्, यत्, तत् and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of ट affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई; while the feminine of words derived by भच् is formed by long आ. Thus किंकरा, यत्करा, तत्करा and बहुकरा; these words might be said to belong to the भज्जि class (See IV. I. 31).

कर्मणि भृती ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, भृती, (कर्मणि, करोतेः,

टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मशब्द उपपदे कर्मवाचिनि करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो भवति भृती गम्यमानायाम् ॥

22. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भृति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकरः 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is भण्; as कर्मकारः 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचाटुसूत्रमंत्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥

न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चाटु-सूत्र-मंत्र-पदेषु, (करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दादिपुण्येषु करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix ट does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', कलह 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चाटु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix ट being prohibited, the general affix भण् takes its place. As शब्दकारः 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककारः 'a verse-maker'; कलहकारः 'one who foments quarrels'; गाथाकारः 'a writer of Gāthās or prakrīte verses'; वैरकारः 'an enemy'; चाटुकारः 'a flatterer'; सूत्रकारः 'an author of sūtras'; मन्त्रकारः 'a composer of Mantras'; पदकारः 'an author of Padapāthā'.

स्तम्बशकुतोऽरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-शकुतोः, इन्, (क-
मेणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शकुत् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोरिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्रीहिवस्तयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इन् comes after the verb कृ when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्ब 'a sheaf', and शकुत् 'ordure'.

Thus स्तम्ब + कृ + इन् = स्तम्बकरि nom. sing. स्तम्बकरिः ; so also शकुत् करिः.

Vart.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore स्तम्बकरिः means 'rice', and शकुत्करिः, 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf', the affix भण् is employed. As स्तम्बकारः 'sheaf-maker', शकुत्कारः 'ordure-maker'.

हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दृति-नाथयोः,
पशौ, (कर्मेणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः हरतेर्धातोः पशौ कर्तरि इन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन् comes after the verb दृ 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words दृति 'a leather-bag' and नाथ 'a master'.

Thus दृतिहरिः 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नाथहरिः 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix भण् is employed ; as दृतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेग्रहिः आत्मभरिश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेग्रहिः-आत्मभरिः,

च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलेग्रहिः आत्मभरिः इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते ॥

26. And the words फलेग्रहि and आत्मभरि are irregularly formed.

The word फलेग्रहिः is formed by adding the affix इन् to the verb ग्रह and making the upapada end in the vowel ए. Thus फलानि गृह्णाति = फलेग्रहिः 'the fruit-bearing i. e. a tree',

The word आत्मभरिः is formed by adding the augment भृन् (भ) to the upapada आत्म, and the affix इन् to the verb भृञ्. Thus आत्मानं चिभर्ति = आत्मभरिः 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुलिभरिः 'gluttonous, selfish' (caring to feed his own belly). उदरभरिः 'gluttonous, selfish'.

छन्दसि वनसनरक्षिसयाम् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वन-सन-रक्षि-सयाम्, (कर्मणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन सन संभक्तौ, रक्ष पाजने, मय विजोडने, एतेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे छन्दसि विषये इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix इन् comes after the verbs वन् 'to honor' सन् 'to worship' रभ् 'to protect' and मय् 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus ब्रह्मवर्ति रुवा क्षत्रवर्तिन् (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3) ; उत नो गोषनि (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) ये ते इवांनौ पथिरक्षा (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इन्द्रो यातूनामभवत् पाराशरो हविर्वयीनाम् (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजेः खश् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजेः, खश्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एज् कम्पने इत्यस्मात् प्यन्तात्कर्मण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खश्प्रत्यये वातगुमीतिजशब्देऽप्यजधेद् तुवजशस्तीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

28. The affix खश् comes after the verb एज् 'to tremble' when ending in छि (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of एज्. Of the affix खश् the letters ख् and श् are indicatory, the real affix is भ. The ख् indicates that the augment भुन् is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The श् indicates that this is a Sārvadhātuka affix (III 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like शप् &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus भङ्गमेजयति = भङ्गमेजयः (भङ्ग + एजि + शप् + खश् = भङ्गन् + एजे + भ + भ) 'who awes the limbs'; जनमेजयः 'who awes mankind'.

Vart.—The affix खश् comes after the verbs भज् 'to go', धेद् 'to suck', तुद् 'to strike', हा 'to leave' when in composition with the words वात 'wind', शुनी 'a bitch', तिल 'sesamum' and शर्द 'flatulence'. As वातमजाः घृगाः 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); शुनिन्धयः 'a bitch-sucker'; तिलतुदः 'an oilman'; शर्दखहा नावाः 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long ई of शुनी is shortened by VI. 3. 66.

नासिकास्तनयोर्ध्माधेतोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः,
ध्मा-धेतोः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योर्ध्माधेतोर्धात्वोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ स्तने धेटः ॥ नासिकायां तु ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥

29. The affix खश् comes after the verbs ध्मा 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose', and स्तन 'breast', are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathāśankhyā* as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धेट्; as (स्तन + धे + खश् = स्तन + मुम् + धे + गुप् + खश् = स्तन + म् + धय् + अ + अ) = स्तनन्धयः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both ध्मा and धे; as नासिका + ध्मा + खश् = नासिक + म् + धम + अ (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78) = नासिकं धमः 'blowing and breathing through the nose'. So also नासिकं धयः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathāśankhyā* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 84. the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनन्धयः is स्तनन्धयी; as the verb धे has an indicatory द्।

नाडीमुष्टयोश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्टयोः, च, (कर्मणोः,
ध्मा-धेतोः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योर्ध्माधेतोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs ध्मा and धे, the affix खश् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि shows the non-applicability of the rule of *yathāśankhyā*; for मुष्टि being a चि ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाडिन्धमः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिन्धमः 'blowing through the fist'; नाडिन्धयः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिन्धयः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus घटिन्धमः, घटिन्धयः, खारिन्धमः, खारिन्धयः, वातन्धमः, वातन्धयः, 'a mountain'.

This sūtra is not Pāṇini's, but is really a Vārtika, raised to the rank of a sūtra by the author of the Kāśikā. The Vārtikakāra divides the last sūtra in this way: (1) स्तने धेटः ॥ (2) ततो मुष्टौ ध्मश्च ॥ (3) नासिकायां ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि चोत्थारोऽस्ति वक्तव्यम् ॥

उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः,

(खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजो भङ्गो, वह प्रापणे, एताभ्यामुत्पूर्वाभ्यां कूले कर्मण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix खश् comes after the verbs रुज् 'to break into pieces' and वह 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उत्, and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्भुजति = कूलमुद्भुजः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुद्ग्रहः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

वहस्ये लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अस्ये, लिहः ॥ (खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह अश् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः लिहैर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix खश् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अश् 'a cloud'.

As वहलिहो गोः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अश् लिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

परिमाणे पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणे, पचः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थादि, तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे पचैः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix खश् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थंपचा 'a pot having the capacity to cook a *prastha* of food'; so also घ्राणम्पचः, खारिम्पचः 'a kettle'.

मितनखे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नखे, च, (पचः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित नख इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः पचैः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix खश् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नख 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sūtra. Thus मितम्पचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brāhmaṇi who cooks a little i. e. a. niggardly Brāhmaṇi'; नखम्पचा यवागूः 'the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

विध्वरूपोस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधु-अरूपो, तुदः, (कर्मणि,

खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधु अरुस् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः तुदैर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix खश् comes after the verb लुट् 'to strike', when विधु 'the moon' or अरुस् 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As विधुन्तुः राहुः 'the Rāhu that eclipses the moon ; अरुन्तुः 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment मुन् after the word अरुस्, see VI. 3. 67.

असूर्यललाटयोद्विशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयोः,
द्विशि-तपोः, (कर्मेणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असूर्यज्जाट इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्तयोः द्विशितपोर्धात्वोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix खश् comes after the verb दृष् 'to see' and तप् 'to heat' when असूर्य and ज्जाट are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus असूर्य + दृष् + खश् = असूर्यम्पश्यः ; as असूर्यम्पश्या राजशरा 'the king's wives not even seeing the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them, much less any irreverent gaze).

So also ज्जाटन्तपः 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word असूर्य is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative अ applies to the verb दृश and not to the word सूर्य'. This is in opposition to the rule of *samartha pada vidhi* (II. 1. 2).

उग्रम्पश्येरस्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्रम्पश्य-
इरस्मद-पाणिन्धमाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्रम्पश्य इरस्मद पाणिन्धम इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

37. The words उग्रम्पश्य, इरस्मद and पाणिन्धम are irregularly formed.

Thus उग्रं पश्यति = उग्रम्पश्यः 'fierce-looking' ; इरया मयति = इरस्मदः 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्धमाः पन्थानः 'chilly roads'.

प्रियवशे वदः खच् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशे, वदः, खच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय वश इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्तयोर्धेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्प्रकरणे गमेः सुप्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विहायसो विह च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्च डिङा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डे च विहायसो विहादेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वच् 'to speak' when प्रिय or वरा is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus प्रियं वदति=प्रियंवदः 'who speaks kindly' ; वरांवदः 'who professes sub-mission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicatory ; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment मुन् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of प्रिय and वरा with वच्, the affix खग् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खग्.

Vart.—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As मितंगमो हस्ती 'the slow-moving i.e. an elephant' ; मितंगमा हस्तिनी 'the slow-moving i.e. a she-elephant'.

Vart.—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायस् ; and the letter ङ is then replaced by the word विह. As विहायसा गच्छति=विहंगमः 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

Vart.—In the *Vārtikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory ड. The force of ड is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंगः or विहंगमः 'a bird'. So also भुजंगमः or भुजंगः 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly).

Vart.—विहायस् is replaced by विह when the affix ड (III 2. 48) comes after the verb गम् ; as विहंगः 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहंग, विहङ्ग, विहङ्गम।

द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोस्तापेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb ताप् 'to heat', when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb ताप् belongs both to *Bhū* and *Chur* classes. Both are meant in the sūtra. In the case of *Bhū*, the verb तापि is the causative ending in णि of ताप् ; while in *Chur*, all verbs take णि.

Thus द्विषन्तं तापयति=द्विषन्तपः (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies', so also परन्तपः 'one who subdues his enemies, a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix भण् will be employed; as द्विपती सापयति = द्विपतीतापः ।

वाचि यमो व्रते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यमः, व्रते, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे यमेधातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति व्रते गम्यमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb यम् 'to curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word व्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharma-sāstra. Thus वाचंयम आस्ते 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence'.

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाग्यामः 'restraining speech' (VI. 3. 69).

पूः सर्वयोदारिसहोः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दारि-सहोः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुर सर्व इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं दारिसहोर्धात्वोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भगो च दारिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verbs दारि 'to split' and सह 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पुर 'a city' and सर्व 'all', as objects.

As पुरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वसहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

Vart.—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb दारि; as भगन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

सर्वकूलाम्रकरीषेषु कपः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-अम्र-करीषेषु, कपः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्व कूल अम्र करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपवेषु कपेधातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कप् 'to rub' when the words सर्व 'all', कूल 'bank', अम्र 'cloud' and करीष 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वकपः खलः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलकपा नदी 'a river'; अम्रकपो गिरिः 'a mountain'; करीषकपा वात्या 'a strong wind'.

मेघर्त्तिभयेषु कृजः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कृजः,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु कृजः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपपदविधौ भवादिसहणं तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud', ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघकरः 'producing clouds' ; ऋर्तिकरः 'giving pain' ; भयकरः 'frightful'.

Vart.—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of upapadas like भय. &c. This is an exception to the *vārtika* under I. 1. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, *tadanta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have अभयकरः 'who cause s security'.

क्षेमप्रियमद्रेण् च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेम-प्रिय-मद्रे, अण्, च,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेम प्रिय मद्र इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोत्तेरण्प्रत्ययो चकारात् खच् ॥

44. And the affix अण् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words क्षेम 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and मद्र 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus क्षेमकारः or क्षेमकरः 'propitious' ; प्रियकारः or प्रियकरः 'showing kindness' ; मद्रकारः or मद्रकरः 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix अण्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sūtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix ट् of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted ; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and not by ई ; as अल्पारम्भाः क्षेमकराः 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिते, भुवः, करण-
भावयोः, (खच्, सुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दे सुबन्ते उपपदे भवतेर्धातोः करणे भावे चायं खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुप्' of sūtra 4 is understood here.

Thus आशितंभवः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. आशितो भवती भवेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And आशितंभवः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

संज्ञायां भृत्तृजिधारिसहितपिदमः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां,
भृ-तृ-जि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दमः, (कर्मणि, सुप्, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ ढृ ढृ जि धारि सहि तपि दम इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix खच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name:—viz. भृ 'to bear', ढृ 'to cross over', ढृ 'to choose', जि 'to conquer', धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and दम 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुप् of sūtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विश्वंभरा 'earth' (that which supports all); रथन्तर 'the Rathantara Sāma'; पतिवरा 'a girl' lit. (who is about to choose a husband); शत्रुंजयः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy); युगंधरः 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed'; शत्रुसहः 'Satrumsaha' (withstanding an enemy); शत्रुतपः 'Satruntapa' (destroying an enemy); अरिंदमः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name'? Observe कुटुम्बभारः 'he who supports his family'.

गमश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, च, (सुप्, संज्ञायां, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः सुट्युपपत्ते संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. And the affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गम् could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvritti* of गम् into the subsequent sūtras.

अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-
अत्यन्त-अध्वन्-दूर-पार-सर्व-अनन्तेषु, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अत्यन्त अध्वन् दूर पार सर्व अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु गमेर्डेप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ड प्रकरणे सर्वत्रपल्लोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उरसो ज्ञोपथ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुदुरोरधिकरणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरोदेशे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपकरणेऽन्येऽपि दृश्यते ॥

48. The affix ड comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects :—अन्त 'end', अत्यन्त 'excessive', अश्वन् 'road', दूर 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञायाम् does not extend to this. As अन्तगः 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अश्वन्तगः 'going too fast'; अश्वगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारगः 'completely familiar'; सर्वगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अनन्तगः 'going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix ड the letter ड् is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The ड indicates that the टि portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त+गम्+ड=अन्त+ग्+अ (the टि portion अम् of गम् is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory ड, follows, there is elision of the टि of a भ'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गम् here is not one of those called भ (I. 4. 18); because the presence of ड as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart.—The ड is also employed when the words in composition are सर्वत्र 'everywhere' and पल्ल 'creeping'; as सर्वत्रगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पल्लगः 'snake.'

Vart.—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस्+गम्+ड=उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

Vart.—So also with the words सु 'well' and दुर् 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As सुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

Vart.—So also with the preposition निर्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निर्गः 'a country'.

Vart.—Others say, that this ड is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्त्र्यगारगः (स्त्री+अगार+गम्+ड) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; मासगः 'going to the village'; गुरुतन्त्रगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां हन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे ड प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दारावाहनोऽणन्तस्य च टः संज्ञायाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चारी वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणि सति च ॥

49. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix ड is understood in this sūtra. Thus तिमिं वध्यात् = तिमिहः 'may he kill the whale'; शत्रुहः 'may he kill the enemy'.

Why do we say 'when benediction is intended'? Otherwise we have शत्रुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

Vart.—The affix अण् comes after the verb आहन् when the word राह 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ट, when the word so formed denotes a name. As राहु आहन्ति = राहवाघाटः (राहु + आहन् + अण्) 'the wood-pecker'.

Vart.—So also optionally when the word चारु 'beautiful' is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last *vartika*: as चारवाघाटः or चारवाघातः।

Vart.—So also, when the verb हन् is preceded by the preposition सम्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix अण् is employed; and the final is replaced by ट; as वर्णान् संहन्ति = वर्णसंघाटः or वर्णसंघातः 'the alphabet'; पदानि संहन्ति = पदसंघाटः or पदसंघातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

अपे क्लेशतन्मसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तन्मसोः, (कर्मणि, हनः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपञ्चद्विन्तेः क्लेशतन्मसोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्दन्त्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अप्, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तन्मस् 'darkness'.

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer i. e. the son'; तन्मोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer i. e. the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीर्षयोर्णिनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, णिनिः, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार शीर्ष इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः हन्तेर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'a child', or शीर्ष 'head'.

Thus कुमार+हन्+णिनि = कुमार+घात+इन् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारघातिन् nom. sing. कुमारघाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्षघातिन् nom. sing. शीर्षघाती 'head-killer'.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस् ।

लक्षणे जायापत्योष्टक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः, टक्, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जायापत्योः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्लक्षणैवतिकर्तरि टक्प्राययो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sūtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणे कर्तरि or लक्षणैवति कर्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाघ्नः 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाघ्नः 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिघ्नी 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ट् and क् are indicatory. The ट् shows that the feminine is formed by ई, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हन्. Thus जाया+हन्+टक्=जाया+हन्+अ (VI. 4. 98)=जायाघ्नः (VII. 3. 54).

अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तृके, च, (टक्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमनुष्यकर्तृके वर्तमानादन्तेर्जातोः कर्मण्युपपदे टक्प्राययो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाघ्नस्तिज्जालकः 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिघ्नी पाण्डुरेखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. दूधघ्नम् मधु 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पित्रघ्नं घृतं 'clarified butter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when the agent is not a human being'? Observe भाखुघातः शूद्रः 'a Sūdra' (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix is अण्.

Why is the affix टक् not employed in the following? चौरघातो हस्तिः 'an elephant' (i. e. who kills a thief.) Here the word is formed by the affix भण् on the analogy of sūtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kritya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *krī* affix.

शक्तौ हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्तौ, हस्ति-कपा-
(वा)टयोः, (हन्, टक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ गम्यमानावां हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्हन्ते टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ती 'elephant' or कपाट 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

This sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः = हस्तिघ्नः मनुष्यः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also कपाटघ्नः 'a burglar' (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated'? Observe विशेषेण हस्तिनं हन्ति = हस्तिघातः 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is भण्.

पाणिघताडघौ शिल्पिनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाणिघ-ताडघौ,
शिल्पिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिघ ताडघ इत्येते शिल्पौ निपात्येते शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ राजघ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The words पाणिघ and ताडघ are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क is employed after the verb हन् in composition with पाणि 'hand' and ताड 'a blow' as object; then the टि portion of हन् i. e. अन् is elided, and ह is changed into घ irregularly. Thus पाणि + हन् + क = पाणि + ह् + अ = पाणिघः 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); ताडघः 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer'? Observe पाणिघातः 'boxing'; ताडघातः 'hammering'.

Vart:—The word राजघः should be enumerated in this connection; राजघः 'a regicide'.

आढघसुभगस्थूलपलितनगनान्धप्रियेषु च्यव्यर्थेष्वच्यौ (रुजः करले
स्थुन् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आढघ-सुभग-स्थूल-पलित-नगन-अन्ध-प्रियेषु, च्यि-अ-
र्थेषु, अच्यौ, रुजः, करले, स्थुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्यादिषु कर्मसुपपदेषु क्ययैश्चक्यन्तेषु करोतेर्द्धातोः कण्ठे कारको ख्युन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The affix ख्युन्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—आढ्य 'rich', सुभग 'fortunate', स्थूज 'big', पणित 'grey', नग्न 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and प्रिय 'pleasant', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्चि, though not actually ending in the affix च्चि.

The affix च्चि (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs भू 'to become', कृ 'to make' and अस् 'to be'; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The च्चि being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in च्चि and words not ending in च्चि. Both may have the force of च्चि. [In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in च्चि have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix च्चि, but have the force of च्चि are included in the present sūtra.

Thus आढ्य + कृ + ख्युन् = आढ्य + कर् + अन् = आढ्यकरणं 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching'; सुभगकरणम् 'making happy'; स्थूजकरणम् 'by which one becomes big'; पणितकरणम् 'rendering grey'; नग्नकरणं 'making naked'; अन्धकरणम् 'making blind'; प्रियकरणम् 'showing kindness'.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix च्चि'? Otherwise आढ्यं तैलेन कुर्वन्ति *i. e.* अभ्यञ्जयन्ति 'they anoint with oil'. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of च्चि and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix च्चि'? Observe आढ्यो कुर्वन्ति अनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix ख्युन् is not employed.

It might be objected: 'well if ख्युन् is not used, then the affix ल्युट् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between ख्युन् and ल्युट्; both having the efficient portion यु; what is then the use of prohibiting च्चि? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्युन् is not employed the affix ल्युट् will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix ल्युट् is also prohibited. The prohibition of च्चि in this sūtra is for the sake of the apophorisms that follow'.

Pātaṇjali observes this prohibition as superfluous; because there is no distinction between ख्यद् and ख्यन्. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by नम्, स्नम्, ईक्, अक् and ख्यन् take ई in the feminine as well as the words तनु and तन्न. Nor there is any distinction in their *samāsas*. For in both the cases it will be *nitya samāsa*. Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment मुन्. For it being an indeclinable, मुन् cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sūtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sūtras.

कर्तरि भुवः खिण्णुच्-खुकजौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, भुवः,
खिण्णुच्-खुकजौ, (आढ्यादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु सुबन्तेषूपपदेषु च्ययैश्च्ययन्तेषु भवतेर्द्वातोः कर्तरि कारके खिण्णुच्-
खुकम् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

57. The affixes खिण्णुच् and खुकम्, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb भू 'to become', when it is in composition with words आढ्य &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्वि though not ending in च्वि.

Thus आढ्यम्भविष्णुः 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आढ्य-
म्भावुकः 'becoming rich'; सुभगम्भविष्णुः or भावुकः 'becoming happy'; स्यूजम्भविष्णुः or
भावुकः 'becoming big'; पलितम्भविष्णुः or भावुकः 'becoming grey'; नग्नम्भविष्णुः or
भावुकः 'becoming naked'; अन्धम्भविष्णुः or भावुकः 'becoming blind'; प्रियम्भविष्णुः or
भावुकः 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of च्वि, otherwise not; as आढ्यो भविता 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in च्वि; आढ्यो भविता ।

स्पृशोऽनुदके क्तिन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृशः, अनुदके, क्तिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृशोर्धातोः अनुदके सुबन्तउपपदे क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix क्तिन् comes after the verb स्पृश् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक 'water'.

By sūtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvritti* of the word सुप्ति is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvritti* of the word कर्म instead of सुप्ति, because the verb स्पृश् is a transitive verb, and after

such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्म ought to come by sūtra 4? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of सुप्ति in this case; because the word कर्तरि of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents, whether objects, instruments &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृग्, nom. sing. घृतस्पृक् 'he who touches clarified butter'. स्पृश् + किन् + सु = स्पृग् + वि + ० (VI. 1. 68) = स्पृक् + ० (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62). So also मन्त्रेण स्पृशति = मन्त्रस्पृक् 'who touches with hymns'; जलेन स्पृशति = जलस्पृक् 'who touches with water'. But उक्तेन स्पृशति = उक्कस्पृक्; here we have the general affix अण्.

The न् of किन् is to distinguish this affix from affixes like क्तिप् &c. For, had it been merely कि, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used कि प्रत्ययस्य क्तिप्, and it would have been ambiguous, for कि might be explained as meaning both कि and क्तिप्, as क्य means क्यप्, क्यप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, न् is added to make a distinctive affix. The न् cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. 1. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent.

ऋत्विग्-दधृक्-स्त्रग्-दिग्-उष्णिक्-अञ्चु-युजि-क्रुञ्चाम् च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥

ऋत्विक्-दधृक्-स्त्रक्-दिक्-उष्णिक्-अञ्चु-युजि-क्रुञ्चाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्विगादयः पञ्चगव्याः किन्प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते अपरे त्रयो धातवो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

59. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', स्त्रक् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix किन्; and so also after the verbs अञ्चु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and क्रुञ्च 'to approach', the affix किन् is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus ऋत् + यन् + किन् = ऋत्विक् 'he who performs sacrifice in the season (ऋतौ) or to the season (ऋतुम्). This word, however is a कृदि word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. धृप् + किन् = दधृक्. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. स्त्रम् + किन् = स्त्रक्. Here there is augment अन्. दृग् + किन् = दिक्. So also उत् + स्निह् + किन् = उष्णिक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning, having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix किन् comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्चु, and क्रुञ्च. Being read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of किन् to these verbs. Thus the affix किन् comes after अञ्चु only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As प्र + अञ्चु + किन् = प्राञ्च् nom. sing. प्राङ् (VI. 4. 24; VII. 1. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'east'; so also प्रत्यङ् 'west'; उदङ् 'north'.

The affix **किन्** comes after **युजिर्** and **कृञ्च्** when these are uncombined. Thus **युज्+किन्=युज्**. In nominative singular, **युज्+सु=युज्+स्** (VII. 1. 71) = **युज्+०** (VI. 1. 68) = **युह्** (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root **युज्** is in composition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix **किन्** (see sūtra 61). As **अधयुक्** 'yoked with horses'.

So also **कृञ्च्+किन्=कृञ्च्**, nom. sing. **कुरु**, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the **ञ** (VI. 4. 24) of **कृञ्च्** is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदिषु,
दृशः, अनालोचने, कञ्च, च, (किन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीषूपपदेषु दृशोर्धातोरेनालोचनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानात् कञ्चस्ययो भवति चकारात् किन्च ॥

60. And the affix **कञ्** comes after the verb **दृग्** 'to see' when it is in combination with **त्यद्** &c. and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the **किन्** also comes under similar circumstances. **त्यद्** &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus **त्यादृक्** nom. sing. **त्यादृक्**, 'such-like' when it is formed by **किन्**; and **त्यादृशः** 'such-like' when the affix is **कञ्**. So also **तद्+दृश्+किन्=तादृक्** (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. **तादृक्** (VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and **तादृशः** when **कञ्** is the affix. So **यादृक्** or **यादृशः** 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter **ञ्** of **कञ्**? It is for the sake of accent; the *udātta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicative **ञ्** or **न्** (VI. 1. 117). But the indicative **न्** would have given the same accent, there being no difference between **कञ्** and **कन्** in this respect. The indicative **ञ्** then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix **कञ्** from **कन्** in sūtra IV. 1. 15 in which **कञ्** is taken and not **कन्**. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for **कञ्करण्** of that sūtra, we should have read **कन् करप्** so that the feminine of words formed by **कन्** would have also taken long **ई**, so that the feminine of **यावकः** (**याव+कन्** V. 4. 29) would have been **यावकी** instead of **यावका**.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See **तं पश्यति = तदृशः** 'who sees that'. The words **त्यादृक्**, **तादृशः** &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart.—This rule applies also when the words **समान** and **अन्य** are in composition with **दृश्**. 'As **सदृक्** or **सदृशः** 'like' (**समान+दृश्+किन्=स+दृश्** VI. 3. 89); so also **अन्यादृक्** or **अन्यादृशः** 'of another kind'.

Vart.—The affix कृत् comes also after the root इष्. As तावृक्षः, बावृक्षः, अन्यावृक्षः and कीवृक्षः। तद्+इष्+कृत् = ता+इष्+कृत् (VI. 3. 91.) = तावृप्+स (VIII. 2. 36) = तावृक्+स (VIII. 2. 41) = तावृक्+प (VIII. 3. 59) = तावृक्षः।

सत्सूद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्विप् ॥
६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-सू-द्विष-द्रुह-दुह-युज-विद-भिद-च्छिद-जि-नी-राजाम्,
उपसर्गे, अपि, क्विप्, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदाश्रियो धातुभ्यः सुबन्ते उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix क्विप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz:—सत् 'to sit', सू 'to bring forth', द्विष 'to hate', द्रुह 'to bear malice', दुह 'to milk', युज् 'to join', 'to concentrate the mind', विद् 'to know', 'to become', 'to consider', भिद् 'to divide', छिद् 'to cut', जि 'to conquer', नी 'to lead' and राज् 'to shine'.

The phrase 'the word ending with a case-affix' is understood in this sūtra. The *anuvritti* of कर्म is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 *ante*. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix i. e. they are also *subanta* words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*jñāpaka*) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with द्विष shows that भवति class verb is meant here, and not तुदादि class. The verb युज् includes, both युजिद् 'to join' and युज् 'to concentrate one's mind'. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of 'to know', 'to become' and 'to consider', but does not include the verb विद् 'to gain', because that root has an indicative लृ (विद्लृ) while all these verbs have indicative भ.

Thus, सत्—शुचिषत् 'dwelling in purity'; भन्तरिक्षसत् 'dwelling in the skies', 'epithets of Brahma' (Kāth. 5. 2); उपसत् 'serving'. सू—अण्डसूः 'oviparous'; शतसूः 'bringing forth hundred'; प्रसूः 'parent'. द्विष—मित्रद्विद् 'treacherous'; प्रद्विद् 'hostile'. द्रुह—मित्रधुक् 'treacherous'; प्रधुक् 'hostile' (VIII. 2. 37). दुह—गोधुक् 'cow-milker'; प्रधुक् 'milker' (VIII. 2. 32. and 37). युज्—अधुक् 'carriage'; प्रयुक् 'impulse'. विद्—वेदवित् 'knower of Veda'; प्रवित् 'knower'; ब्रह्मवित् 'knower of Brahma'. भिद्—काष्ठभित् 'wood-cutter'; प्रभित् 'cutter'. छिद्—रज्जुच्छिद् 'rope-cutter'; प्रच्छिद् 'a cutter'. जि—शत्रुजित् 'enemy-conqueror'; प्रजित् 'conqueror'. नी—सेनानी 'leader of an army'; प्रणीः 'a leader'; प्रामणीः 'head-borough'; भवणीः 'first'. (Why is there cerebral ए in these words? Because the word प्रामणी has a cerebral ए in

sūtra V. 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have ण, as also by sūtra VIII. 4. 3). राज्—विराट् 'splendour'; सम्राट् 'emperor' (the letter ण is added by sūtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sūtra is a continuation and expansion of sūtras 75 and 76 *sup.*

भजो विवः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भजः, विवः, (उपसर्ग, अपि, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजोर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गोऽप्यनुपसर्गोऽपि विवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix विव comes after the verb भज् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sūtra. As भज् = भजते = भर्तुभाज् nom. sing. भर्तुभाक् 'sharing a half'. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

छन्दसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, सहः, (उपसर्ग, सुपि, विवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये सहर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे विवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix विव comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As सुर+सह्+विव = सुरासाह् nom. sing. सुराशट् 'name of Indra'. The dental स is changed into cerebral ष by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह् into ट् by VIII. 2. 31. The final अ of सुर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48 5.

वहश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहः, च, (छन्दसि, विवः, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहर्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे विवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix विव comes after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रष्टवाह् 1st sing. प्रष्टवाट् 'carrying a *prashtha* measure'; so, वित्यवाट् ।

The division of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of सह्. See Yajur Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ऋट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, ऋट्, (छन्दसि, सुपि, वहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु छन्दसि विषये वहर्धातोश्चुट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix ऋट् comes after

the verb वह् when it is in composition with the words कव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', पुरीष 'faeces' and पुरीष्य 'water'.

As कव्यवाहनः पितृणाम् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitris*'; पुरीषवाहनः 'carrier of water'; पुरीष्यवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई ।

हव्येजन्तःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्,
(छन्दसि, यहः, ड्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हव्यशब्दं उपपदे छन्दसि विषये वहर्धातोऽयं प्रत्ययो भवति, अनन्तःपादं चेद्वि-
वर्त्तते ॥

66. The affix ड्युट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह् 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word हव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pāda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निश्च हव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a pāda, or at the beginning, the form is हव्यवाद्, which is derived by adding the affix णि (sūtra 64). As हव्यवाद् अग्निरजः पिता नः 'the never-decaying *agni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda. III. 2. 2.)

जनसनखनक्रमगमो विट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खन-
क्रम-गमः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्त उपपदे छन्दसि विषये विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born', सन् 'to bestow', खन् 'to dig', क्रम् 'to pace' and गम् 'to go', when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ.

The words छन्दसि, उपसर्गे and सुपि are understood in this sūtra. The verb जन् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also सन् means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विट् the letter ट् is indicatory, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन्, सन् &c. is replaced by long आ when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.

As अर् + जन् + विट् = भज्जाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गोजाः 'born in the heaven i. e. God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from सन्—गोषाः 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII. 3. 108); गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा भसि 'O Indra bestower of cows! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From खन्—विसखाः 'digger of lotus stalk'; कुपखाः 'digger of well'. From क्रम्—इधिकाः 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From गम्—अवेगा उन्नेदृणात् 'the leader'.

अदोऽनन्ने ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनन्ने, (सुपि, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवेधातिरनन्ने सुप्युपपदे विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb अर् 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अन्न 'food'.

The *anuvritti* of the word 'Chhandasi' does not extend to this sūtra. Thus भाममत्ति = भामात् 'eating raw food'; शरवात् 'granivorous'.

But with अन्न as an upapada, we have अन्नाद्: 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix अण् (III 2. 1.)

क्रव्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रव्ये, च, (अदः, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रव्यशब्द उपपदे अवेधातिर्विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix विट् comes after the verb अर् 'to eat,' when the word क्रव्य is in composition with it.

As क्रव्यमत्ति = क्रव्यात् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of वासकृत् (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अण् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अण् does not apply, how then we get the form क्रव्याद्: which is evidently formed by the affix अण्? The affix अण् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus क्रव्याद्: means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, i. e. a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while क्रव्यात् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word क्रव्याद्: in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under वृषोदरादि class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

दुहः कप्चश्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कप्-चः, च, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुहेधातोः सुप्युपपदे कप्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

70. The affix कप् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.

As कामदुघा धेनुः 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk'; so also अर्धदुघा, धर्मदुघा ।

मंत्रे श्वेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो विवन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मंत्रे, श्वेतवह-उक्थशस्-पुरोडाशः, विवन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वेतवह उक्थशस् पुरोडाग् इत्येतेभ्यो विवन् प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्वेतवहादीनां डस्वरश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix विवन् comes after the words श्वेतवह, उक्थशस् and पुरोडाश् ।

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada ; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix विवन् comes after the verb वह् preceded by the upapada श्वेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As श्वेता एनं वहन्ति = श्वेतवाह् nom. sing. श्वेतवाः 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix विवन् is applied to the verb ज्ञस् 'to praise' when preceded by the word उक्थ as object or instrument ; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्थानि उक्थैर्वा वसति = उक्थशस्, nom. sing. उक्थशः (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The विवन् is applied after the verb दाग् 'to give', preceded by पुरो, and इ is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दाशन्ति एनं = पुरोडाग्, nom. sing. पुरोडाः (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) 'an offering'.

Vart.—The augment डस् is added to the words श्वेतवाह् &c., when the *pada* affixes follow. Thus before *pada* terminations श्वेतवाह् becomes श्वेतवहस् । Therefore its Instrumental dual is श्वेतवोभ्याम्, pl. श्वेतवोभिः ।

The augment डस् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations. As श्वेतवाही, श्वेतवाहः ।

अवे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, यजः, (विवन्, मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे यजेर्धातोर्विबन्प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix विवन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word अच्.

As अवयाज्, nom. sing. अवयाः (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest' ; as एवं यज्ञे वरुणस्यावया अस्ति 'Thou art the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the *anuvritti* of यज्

only runs. This word is thus declined :—

	sing.	dual	plural.
1st.	अवयाः,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
2nd.	अवयाजं,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
3rd.	अवयाजा,	अवयोभ्यां,	अवयोभिः

विजुपे छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपउपपदे यजेच्छन्दसि विषये विच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb यज् when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपयज्भिर्ह्युप वहन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपयज् formulas'. उपयज् is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvṛtti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The च् is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called वि (which includes क्तिन्, क्तिप्, णिच्, विट्), as in the sūtra वेरपुनस्त्य (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sūtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपयज् is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

आतो मनिन्क्कनिश्चनिपश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्-
क्कनिप्-चनिपः, च, (छन्दसि, सुपि, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुप्युपपदे छन्दसि विषये मनिन् क्वनिप् चनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद्विजपि ॥

74. The affixes मनिन्(मन्), क्वनिप्(क्वन्), चनिप्(चन्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सुदा + मनिन् = सुदामन्, 1st. sing. सुदामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व + स्था + मनिन् = अश्वस्थामन्, 1st. sing. अश्वस्थामा 'the name of Asvatthāman'; सुधा + क्वनिप् = सुधी + वन् (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुपा + क्वनिप् = सुपीवन्, 1st. sing. सुपीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि + श + चनिप् = भूरिशावन्, 1st. sing. भूरिशावा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; घृतपा + वन्, 1st. sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As क्रीजाल + पा + विच् = क्रीजालपा (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker'; शुभंदा (Rig. IV. 3. 6. and Pāṇini VII.

3. 46) 'beautifully going' ; रामस्योपशः 'an offering of Rāma.' (see sūtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यन्ते,
(मनिन्, कनिप्, वनिप्, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तेभ्यो मनिन् वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते,
विच् ॥

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्, वनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long आ.

The word छन्सि is not understood here. As सु + भृ 'to injure' + मनिन् = सुशर्मन्, 1st. 'sing. सुशर्मा 'who destroys well i. e. destroys sin or ignorance'. प्रातर् + इ 'to go' + वनिप् = प्रातर् + इत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = प्रातरिवन्, 1st. sing. प्रातरिवन् 'who goes early'. वि + जन् + वनिप् = वि + जा + वन् (VI. 4. 41) = विजावन्, 1st. sing. विजावा 'who brings forth'. अग्रे गावा 'who goes before'. रिप् + विच् = रेप् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेड् 'who injures'; as in रेडसि पर्णे नयेः (Yajur. Ved. VI. 18).

The word 'also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms, that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As वीवा, धीवा.

The words 'are seen' in this sūtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्विप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विप्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यः सोपपदेभ्यो निरुपपदेभ्यश्च छन्सि भाषायां च क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्विप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उखायाः संतते = उखासत् (VI. 4. 24) 'falling from the pot'; पर्णेभ्यः 'falling from the leaves'; वाहाद् भ्रूयति = वाहाभ्रगु, 1st. sing. वाहाभ्रद् 'falling from a car'. The हा is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

स्यः क च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, क, च, (सुपि, उपसर्गे, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्या इत्येतस्माद्भातोः सुप्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति क्विप् च ॥

77. The affixes क and क्विप् come after the verb स्या when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4, स्या would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्विप् also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sûtra III. 2. 14 prohibited the sûtra III. 2. 4, and the present sûtra removes that prohibition. Thus शंस्यः and शंस्याः । But for this sûtra, this form could not have been evolved ; for, with the upapada शम्, the verb रथां would have taken the affix अच् by III. 2. 14..

सुप्यजातौ णिनिस्ताच्छीस्ये ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, अजातौ,
णिनिः, ताच्छीत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातिवाचिनि सुबन्त उपपदे ताच्छीत्ये गम्यमाने धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्पत्तिप्रधानादि सत्तेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ब्रह्मणि वदः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix णिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उष्ण + भुज् + णिनि = उष्णभोजिन्, 1st. sing. उष्णभोजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also शीतभोजी &c.

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयिता 'the inviter of Brāhmanas'. We cannot form ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयी

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उष्णं भुङ्क्ते कदाचित् 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvṛtti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुनायित्, अनुजायिन्, उपजीविन् &c.:

Vart.—The verb भाव् in composition with the prepositions उत्, or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उदासारिन्, fem. उदासारिणी, 1st. plural उदासारिण्यः. So also प्रत्यासारिणी, pl. प्रत्यासारिण्यः ।

Vart.—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker' ; साधुदायी 'giving liberally'.

Vart.—So also after the verb वद preceded by ब्रह्म. As ब्रह्मवादिन् in ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्त्तर्युपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, उपमाने, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि उपमान उपपदे धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix णिनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उद्ग इव क्रोशति = उद्गक्रोशिन् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; धांश-राविन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sūtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated : or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अपूपानिव भक्षयति मायान् 'he eats *māsha* like *apūpa*'. Here अपूप is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there will be no composition. As उद्गः क्रोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

व्रते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रते, (धातोः, सुप्ति, णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रते गम्यमाने सुबन्त उपपदे धातोर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix णिनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word व्रत means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्थण्डिलशायिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow'. अश्राद्धभोजिन् 'who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Srāddha ceremony'.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्थण्डिले शेते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2 78 applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलमाभीक्ष्ये ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, आभीक्ष्ये, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्ये गम्यमाने धातोर्बहुलं णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix णिनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीक्ष्य means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कषायपायिणो गान्धारः 'the people of Gāndhāra are kashāya-drinkers'. कषाय + पा + णिनि = कषाय + पा + युक् + णिनि (VII. 3. 33). So also क्षीरपायिणो उशीनाराः 'the people of Uśināra are milk-drinkers'. सौवीर-पायिणो बाह्लीकाः 'the people of Bāhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following :—कुम्भापलादः 'a grain eater'.

मनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः, (सुप्ति, छिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यतेः सुबन्त उपपदे छिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

82. The affix छिनि comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'supi' is understood in this sūtra. As दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभनमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb मन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divādi or Tanādi मन् the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खग् there would be difference of form owing to the vikaraṇa, i. e., in the 4th conjugation श्यन् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

आत्ममाने खश्च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्ममाने, खश्, च, (छिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्ममाने वर्त्तमानान्मन्यतेः सुबन्त उपपदे खग्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराणिनिश्च ॥

83. And the affix खग् comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आत्ममान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix छिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As दर्शनीयमन्यः or दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; पण्डितमन्यः or पण्डितमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness दर्शनीयमानी देवदत्तस्य यत्तद्वत्तः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome-by Devadatta'.

Of the affix खग् the letter ख causes मुन् augment by VI. 3. 66; and ख makes it a sārvaadhātuka affix, which brings in the proper vikaraṇas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारो वर्त्तमाने जडिति यावत्, यदित् ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामः भूत इत्येवं तद्भवेदित्यम् ॥

84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an adhikāra or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose anuvṛitti is also understood throughout the subsequent sūtras; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb यज्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix णिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sūtra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निष्टोमेनेष्टवान् = अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with an Agnishṭoma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अग्निष्टोमेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnishṭoma'.

करणे यजः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यजः, (णिनिः, भूते)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजत्तर्धातोः करणउपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

85. The affix णिनि comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The anuvṛitti of णिनि and not of खच् is to be read into this sūtra. As अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with Agnishṭoma.' Here Agnishṭoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

कर्मणि हनः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, हनः, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि उपपदे हन्तर्धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते काले ॥

86. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पित्रव्ययातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातुलयातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle'; हन् + णिनि = घन् + णिनि (VII. 3. 54) = घत् + णिनि (VII. 3. 32) = घातिन् (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चोरं हत्वान् 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvṛitti of the word कर्मणि of this aphorism extends up to sūtra III. 2. 96.

ब्रह्मभूतवृत्रेषु क्विप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-भूत-वृत्रेषु, क्विप्, (कर्मणि, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मादिषु कर्मसूपपदे हन्तर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

87. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb हन् 'to

kill' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: ब्रह्म 'a Brāhmaṇa', भ्रूण 'a foetus' and वृत्र 'Vṛitra'.

As ब्रह्महन्, 1st. sing. ब्रह्महा 'who has killed a Brāhmaṇa'; भ्रूणहा 'who has killed a foetus'; वृत्रहा 'who has killed Vṛitra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sūtra 76 *ante*, the affix क्विप् was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हन् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a *niyama*. *i. e.* the verb हन् takes the affix क्विप् only when it is in composition with the words ब्रह्म &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हन् has, as upapada, the words ब्रह्म &c., and not any other word; as पुरुषं हतवान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words ब्रह्म &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हन्, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हन्; thus ब्रह्मधीतवान् 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The क्विप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हन् preceded by ब्रह्म &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as ब्रह्माणं हन्ति or हन्तिष्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brāhmaṇa'. This sūtra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sūtra, and is an example of बहुलं use of the affix.

बहुलं छन्दसि॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (हन्, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उपपदांतरेपि हंतर्बहुलं क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix क्विप् diversely comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains क्विप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As मातृहा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पितृहा 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also मातृघातः and पितृघातः।

सुकर्मपापमन्त्रपुरयेषु रुजः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-पुरयेषु, रुजः, (क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु कर्मसुपदेषु करोतेर्जातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

89. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— सु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मन्त्र 'hymn' and पुण्य 'virtue'.

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except सु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As सुकृत् (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; कर्मकृत् 'who has done all works'; पापकृत् 'who has committed sins'; मंत्रकृत् 'who has made a mantra'; पुण्यकृत् 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here : namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix ; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than these are upapadas. As, शास्त्रकृत् 'who has made Scriptures ; भाष्यकृत् 'who has made a commentary'. The कृ is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

सोमे सुजः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, सुजः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमे कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word सोम, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, सोमसुज् 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual सोमसुजौ ; 1st. plural सोमसुजः ।

This sūtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. i.e. as regards the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

अग्नौ चेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, चेः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नौ कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word अग्नि, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, अग्निचित् 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual अग्निचितौ ; 1st. plural अग्निचितः ।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

कर्मण्यग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अग्नि-आख्या-याम्, (कर्मणि, चेः, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे चिनोतेः कर्मण्येव कारके क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति अग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥

92. In expressing an object the affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words चेः and कर्मणि are understood in this sūtra. The Name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As इयेनचित् 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; कङ्कुचित् 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word भाष्या indicates that these words are rudhi words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called इयेनचित्, and so on.

कर्मणीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे विपूर्वात् क्रीणतर्धातोर्निप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix इनि comes after the compound verb विकृ 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word कर्मणि in the sūtra, though its anuvṛitti might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent, then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As सोमविक्रयिन् 'the seller of soma plant'; रसविक्रयिन् 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in धान्यविक्रायः 'the seller of paddy'.

दृशेः कनिप् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशेः, कनिप्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

94. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As मेरुदृशन्, 1st. sing. मेरुदृशा 'who has seen the Meru'. परजोकदृशन् 'who has seen the hereafter.'

Though the affix क्वनिप् was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिरुजः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-रुजः, (कर्मणि, क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे युध्यतेः करोतेश्च क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध 'to fight' and कृ 'to make' with a past signification when the word राजन् 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb युध्, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? It is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the णिप् affix latent. As राजयुधन्, 1st. sing. राजयुधा (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; राजकृत्स्नन्, 1st. sing. राजकृत्स्ना (VI. 1. 71) 'who has made a king'.

सहे च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे, च, (युधि, कजः, क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहशब्दे चोपपदे युधिकृमोर्जातोः क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध् and कृ, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुध्वन् 'who has made to fight with'; सहकृषन् 'who has done any thing along with another'.

सप्तम्यां जनेर्ङः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, जनेः, ङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसरे जातः = उपसरजः । जन् + ङ = ज् + अ (VI. 4. 143) = ज 'born of the first conception'; मन्दुरजः 'born in the stable'.

पञ्चम्यामजातौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याम्, अजातौ, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्त उपपदे जातिवर्जिते जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन्, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; दुःखजः 'born through pain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe हस्तिनो जातः 'born of elephant'; अश्वज्जातः 'born of horse'.

उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे चोपपदे जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजाः 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अथेमा मानवी प्रजाः ।

अनौ कर्मणि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मणि, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्जनेः कर्मण्युपपदे ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् with

a past signification, when the root takes the preposition अनु and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुननुजा 'a girl born after the male child i. e. a girl having an elder brother'; रुद्यमनुजः 'a boy born after the female child i. e. a boy having an elder sister'.

अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, दृश्यते, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपपत्तेषु कारकेषु जनेः प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

101. The affix ड is seen to come after the verb जन् with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जायते = भजः 'unborn'; द्विजातः = द्विजः 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As द्वाहणजो धर्मः; क्षत्रियजं युद्धम्।

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix ड comes after the compound verb जन्. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as अभिजाः or प्ररिजाः 'born or produced all round i. e. hair'.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100. 'When an object is in composition with the verb अनुजन् this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुजः 'born after i. e. younger brother'.

The force of the word अपि 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परितः खाता = परिखा 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); आखा 'a pond'.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तवत्तू तिष्ठेद्युक्तं स निष्ठासंज्ञकः प्रत्ययो भूते भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called निष्ठा come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes क्त and क्तवत्तू are निष्ठा (I. 1. 26). As कृ + क्त = कृतम् 'made'; कृ + क्तवत्तू = कृतवत्, 1st. sing. कृतवान् 'done'; so also भुक्तम् and भुक्तवान् 'eaten'.

Vart.—The Nishthā affixes come when ādi-karma is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes ādi-karma see sūtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृतः कटं वेवदत्तः, प्रकृतवान् कटं वेवदत्तः ।

सुयजोर्द्ध्वनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, ङ्वनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेर्यजनेश्च ङ्वनिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix ङ्वनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice', with a past signification.

As सु + ङ्वनिप् = सुत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = सुत्वन् 1st. sing. सुत्वा 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज्वन्, 1st. sing. यज्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The त् is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

जीर्यतेरत्न ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अत्न, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरत्न प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix अत्न comes after the verb जृ 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As जृ + अत्न = जर + अत् (VII. 3. 84) = जरत्, 1st. sing. जरन्, 1st. dl. जरन्तौ, 1st. pl. जरन्तः 'grown old' (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94), the Nishṭhā affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्णः and जीर्णवान्. जृ + क्त = जिर् + त (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51) = जिर् + न (VIII. 2. 42) = जीर्ण (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातोर्लिट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As अहं सूर्यमुभयतो ददर्श 'I saw the sun from both sides'; अहं आवाप्तानि 'I stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words ददर्श and आवाप्तानि have the force of nishṭhā. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sūtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the *luṇ*, *lañ* and *lit* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (धातुसंबन्ध) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

Lit is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

लिटः कानच्वा ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः, कानच्, वा; (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानच्देशो भवति वा ॥

106. In the Chhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानच्.

As अग्निं चिद्वयानः 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सुपुषाणः 'he pressed the soma juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute कानच् replaces not only the special लिट् of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general लिट् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix कानच् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. कृतुजान् (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

कसुश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवसुः, च, (छन्दसि, लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कसुरादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the Chhandas the affix कवसु is optionally the substitute of लिट्.

As जन्तिवस् 1st. sing. जन्तिवान् 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); पयिवस् 1st. sing. पयिवान् 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105; अहं सूर्यमुभयतो ददर्श.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of कवसु only runs.

भाषायां सदयसश्चुवः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायाम्, सद-वस-श्रुवः, (लिटः, कवसुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सद वस श्रु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य लिटो भाषायां विषये वा कसुरादेशो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix कवसु optionally replaces लिट् after the verbs सद्, वस् and श्रु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As, उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिन् 'Kautsa served Pāṇini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासीदत् 'he served'; उपासीदत् and उपससाद.

So also अनुपिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिन्. In the alternative we have अन्ववात्सीत्, अन्ववसत् and अनुवासत्.

So also उपाश्रुवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिन्. In the alternative we have उपाश्रोषीत्, उपाश्रुणीत् and उपशुभाषत्.

The affix कवसु is employed with the force of लृङ् and लङ् also.

उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-अनाश्वान्-अनूचानः, (च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved:—To the verb इ 'to go' with the preposition उप, the affix क्वसु is added: as उप+इ+क्वसु. The root is reduplicated: as उप+ई+इ+क्वसु. The reduplicate is here long ई by VII. 4. 69. This long ई does not coalesce with the short इ by the rules of sandhi; for then the rule by which this ई was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment इट्, contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67, and this is the irregularity. As उप+ई+इ+इट्+क्वसु. Then the root इ is replaced by य by sūtra VI. 4. 81. As उप+ई+य्+इट्+क्वसु = उपेयिक्वस् 1st. sing. उपेयिवान्. The augment इट् is however dropped in those cases (भ) where वस् is changed into उप्; because the insertion of इट् was itself an exceptional case of limited scope:—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that इट् was employed before वस्. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपेयुषः; instrumental sing उपेयुषा &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga उप; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus समीयिवान्, and ईयिवान् as well.

By the anuvṛitti of the word वा read in this aphorism, we have लुङ् &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपागन्, Imperfect उपैत्, Perfect उपेयाय ।

The word अनाधान् is thus formed:—To the verb भग् 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle अन; apply the affix क्तु and do not insert the augment इट्; so, we have अन+भग्+क्वसु = अनाधक्स् 1st. sing. अनाधान्. In the alternative we have Aorist नागन्, Imperfect नामात् and Perfect नाश.

The word अनुज्ञानः is thus derived:—The affix कानच् is added in expressing the agent to the verb वच् preceded by अनु. In the alternative we have Aorist अन्ववोचत्, Imperfect अन्वव्रीत्, Perfect अनुवाच.

लुङ् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेष्वेव वर्त्तमानाद्भातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसतेर्लुङ् रात्रिर्द्ये जागरणसन्ततौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix लुङ् comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The लुङ् forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal terminations. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

'The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very *recently*, say, in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time *generally*, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past time ; the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'.—Apte's Composition. As अकार्षीत् 'he did' ; अहर्षीत् 'he took'.

Vart.—The affix लृङ् comes after the verb वस् 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell i. e. pass the night' ? That person so asked should answer in the लृङ् and not in लङ्. As अनुवावात्सम् 'I dwelt there'; and not अनुवावत्सम्.

Vart.—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अनुवावत्सम्.

अनद्यतने लृङ् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लृङ्, (भूते) ॥

पृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानाद्यतने भूतेऽयं वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

111. The affix लृङ् comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनद्यतन is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana*). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लृङ् by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अहरत् 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound ? Because when there is a doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As अद्य ह्यो वा अभुञ्जमहि 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is लृङ्.

Vart :—The affix लृङ् is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Sāketa'; अरुणद् यवनः माध्यमिकान् 'the Yavanas have besieged Mādhyamika'.

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe उद्गात् आदित्यः 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event' ? Observe चकार कद. देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do we say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker' ? Observe जवान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'Vāsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावचने लृट् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वचने, लृट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तद्वचन उपपदे भूतानद्यतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ :

112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recollection'. This rule sets aside the affix लङ्. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु वरक्ष्यामः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; बुध्यसे 'dost thou know'; चेतयसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द सहितेऽभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past, when the upapada denoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यत्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वस् obtained from the last sūtra. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरेष्ववसाम 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

विभाषा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्, अभिज्ञावचने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसहिते केषां च विभाषा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्ष-
श्चेत्ययोक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यत् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकांक्षा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, तत्र सक्तून्

पाठ्यामः or अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गच्छाम, तत्र सक्तून् पिवाम, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle यत् is or is not used. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः (or यत् कश्मीरान् गच्छाम,) यत् तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे (or यत् तत्रौदनमभुङ्क्षमहि) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्जिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्यन्तापह्नवे च लिङ्वक्तव्यः ॥

115. The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत 'past' and अनद्यतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs all unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चकार 'he did'; जहार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, *i. e.* when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुप्तोऽहं किञ्च विज्जलाप 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

Vart :—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गेषु स्थितोऽसि ? नाहं कलिङ्गम् जगाम 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; इक्षिणापथं प्रविष्टोऽसि ? नाहं इक्षिणापथं प्रविवेश.

हशश्वतोर्लङ् च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-शश्वतोः, लङ्, च, (भूते,

अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे लिटि प्राप्ते हशश्वतोरुपपदयोर्लङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराल्लिट् च ॥

116. And the affix लङ् comes after a verb when the particles इ and शब्त् are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च 'and' is that the affix लिट् (perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति ह चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. शब्दकरोत् or शब्दचकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, च, आसन्नकाले, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लङ्, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्नकाले पृच्छ्यमानो भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थवर्त्तमानाद्वातोर्लङ् लिटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

117. The affixes लङ् (imperfect) and लिट् (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in this sūtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and आसन्नकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अगच्छद् देवदत्तः or जगाम देवदत्तः 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)?' अयजद् देवदत्तः or इयाज देवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed?'

Why do we say 'in asking question'? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, जगाम देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent'? Observe भवन्ते पृच्छामि, जपान कंच किञ्च वासुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लट् स्मे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, स्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मृशब्द उपपदे भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb, when the particle स्म is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism This debars लिट् or the perfect tense. Thus यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishtira sacrificed'; so also नजेन स्म पुराधीयते । उर्ध्वा स्म पराधीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, स्मे, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्वातोः स्मउपपदे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्म is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं स्म पिता ब्रवीति 'thus said the father' ; इति स्मोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

ननौ पृष्टप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ ननौ, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचने, (भूते, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्द उपपदे प्रभपूर्वके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽर्थे लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix लट् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'anadyatana' and 'paroksha' does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars लृङ् (the Aorist tense). As अकार्षीः कटं वेवदत् ?— ननु करोमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ? O, yes, I did make it'. अयोचस्तत्र किंचिद् वेवदत्,— ननु ब्रवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything ? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation' ? Observe नन्वकार्षीन् माणवकः 'certainly, Mānavaka did it'.

नन्वोर्विभाषा ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ट-प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्दे ननुशब्दे चोपपदे पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix लट् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, अकार्षीः कटं वेवदत्—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षम्;—अहं नु करोमि or अहं न्वकार्षम् 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ?—No I did not ;— what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुङ् चास्मे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुङ्, च, अस्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्द उपपदे स्मशब्दवर्जिते भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे विभाषा लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति लट् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लृङ् and लट् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरा is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्म is not used,

The anuvṛitti of the word *anadyatana* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvṛitti is technically called *manduka-pluti* 'the leap of a frog' i. e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lun* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As वसन्तीह पुरा छात्राः 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, भवत्सुः पुरा छात्राः ; Imperfect, भवसन्तिह पुरा छात्राः ; Perfect, कपुरिह पुरा छात्राः ।

Why do we say 'when the word स्म is not used'? Observe यजति स्म पुरा युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishtira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *ante* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आरब्धोऽपरिप्तमात्रं वर्तमानस्तस्मिन् वर्तमानेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्नैदप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

123. The affix लट् comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तमान means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पचति 'he is cooking'; पठति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः 'the mountains stand'; स्रवन्ति नद्यः 'the rivers flow'.

लटः शतृशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः,

शतृ-शानचौ, अप्रथमा-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः शतृशानचाविशेषतावादेशौ भवतः अप्रथमान्तेन चेत्तस्य सामानाधिकरण्यं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ माह्याक्रोशे ॥

124. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are substitutes of लट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As पचमानं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचता कृतम् 'or पचमानेन कृतम्' 'done by one who is cooking'. पच्+शानच्=पच्+शप्+शानच् (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68)=पच्+अ+मुक्+आन (VII. 2. 82)=पचमान । So also पच्+शप्+शतृ=पच्+अ+अत्=पचत् ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix'? Observe देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लट् might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule ; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सन् ब्राह्मणः 'who is a Brāhmaṇa'=अस्ति ब्राह्मणः ; so also

विद्यते ब्राह्मणः and विद्यमानो ब्राह्मणः ; जुह्वत् and जुहोति ; and अभीयानः and जयीते ।

Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle माङ् is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As मा पचन् and मा पचमानः 'may he not cook' ; मा जीवन् यः परावज्ञातुः खदग्धोऽपि जीवति 'cursed be he (lit. may he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvṛitti of the word 'option' from sūtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyavasthita-vibhāśhā*) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शट्-शानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शट्-शानचौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

125. The affixes शट् and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case ; as हे पचन् or हे पचमान 'O thou who art cooking'.

लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-हेत्वोः, क्रियायाः, (लटः, शट्-शानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ चार्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोः परस्य लटः शट्-शानच्चावादेशौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः गुण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणहेत्वोः च ॥

126. The affixes शट् and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised or known i. e. an attribute ; हेतु means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word क्रिया. Of *lakshana*:—as, शयानाः भुञ्जते यवनाः 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. तिष्ठन्तोऽनुशासति गणकाः । Of *hetu*:—as हरिं पश्यन् मुच्यते 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution' ; अभीयानो वसति 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause' ? Observe पचति 'he cooks' ; पठति 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action' ? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As यः कम्पते सोऽश्वत्थः 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha' ; यदुश्म्वते तल्लघु 'whatever floats is light' ; यत्तिर्यसि तद्गुरु 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

Varl.—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, *बोध्यमान आस्ते स देवदत्तः* 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

Varl.—This participle is also used to state a general truth: as *शयाना वर्धते दूर्वा* 'the Dûrvā grass grows in a recumbent position'; *आसीनं वर्धते विलं* 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound *लक्षणहेत्तुः* of the sūtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (शठ-शानचौ)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौ शठशानचौ सत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

127. These two शठ and शानच् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus *ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्यात्, करिष्यमाणः* ।

The word सत् occurs in sūtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पूङ्यजोः शानन् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्-यजोः, शानन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ्गो यजेथ धातोः शानन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शत्रुर्वा वचनम् ॥

128. The affix शानन् comes after the verbs पू 'to purify' and यज् 'to sacrifice'.

As *पवमानः* 'purifier (fire or air)'; *यजमानः* 'sacrificer'.

It might be asked 'is the शानन् with others that follow, an affix *suo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of ज्ञ, as शठ and शानच्? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of ज्ञ, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of ज्ञ, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of ज्ञ, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as *सोमं पवमानः* 'drinking Soma'; and *नडमाप्मानः*? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानन् &c. must be the substitutes of ज्ञ. The term हन् in sūtra II 3. 69. is not the affix हन् taught in this Chapter sūtra 135; but it is a *pratyāhāra* including several affixes. It is a *pratyāhāra* formed by taking the ढ of शठ in sūtra 124; and न् of हन् in 135; and thus it means all the affixes from शठ in 134 down to हन् in 135. Thus though शानन्, चान्श् &c. are not substitutes of ज्ञ, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term हन्.

Varl.—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb द्विष takes the affix शठ. As *चोरस्य* or *चोरं द्विषन्* 'hating the thief'.

ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानश् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ताच्छील्य-
वयः-वचन-शक्तिषु, चानश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ताच्छील्यादिषु धातोश्चानश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानश् comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताच्छील्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वयः means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्ति means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भोगं भुञ्जानः 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं विभ्राणः 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शत्रुं निग्नानः 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कर्तुं मुण्डयमानाः, भूययमानाः, कवचं पर्ययमानाः, शिखण्डं वहमानाः and पचमानाः ।

इङ्-धार्योः शत्रुकच्छिणि ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-धार्योः, शत्रु,
अकच्छिणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धारेश्च धात्वोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति अकच्छिणि कर्त्तरि ॥

130. The affix शत्रु comes after the verbs इङ् 'to go' and धारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word अकच्छिन् means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As अर्थायन् पाठायणम् 'the facile reading of the Purāṇa'; धारयन् उप-निषदम् 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root धारि is causative of धृ and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise कृच्छ्रेणाधीते 'he reads with difficulty'; कृच्छ्रेण धारयति 'he remembers with difficulty'.

द्विषोऽमित्रे ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अमित्रे, (शत्रु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमित्रे कर्त्तरि द्विषेर्धातोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix शत्रु comes after the verb द्विष् when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अमित्र means 'enemy'. As द्विषन् 'enemy', द्विषन्तो 'two enemies', द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe द्वेष्टि भार्या पतिम् 'the wife hates her husband'.

सुजो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजः, यज्ञ-संयोगे, (शत्रु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञसंयुक्तोऽनिषवे वसमानास्तुनोर्तेर्धातोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix शत्रु comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.

The word यज्ञसंयोग is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संयोग) with sacrifice. As सु+नु+शतृ (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113) = सुनु+अत् (I. 2. 4.) = सुन्वत् (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing. सुन्वन्, 1st. pl. सुन्वन्तः 'the sacrificers'; as in सर्वे सुन्वन्तः 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice'.

The word संयोग indicates that the principal sacrificer, i. e. the यजमान is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as याजकाः 'the sacrificing priests'.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have सुनोति सुराम् 'he distils liquor'.

अहः प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, प्रशंसायाम्, (शतृ)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहतेर्ज्ञातोः प्रशंसायां शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix शतृ comes after the verb अह in expressing praise.

As अहंनिह भवान्वियाम् 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; अहंनिह भवान्पूजाम् 'thou art worthy of honor in this place'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness अहति चौरो वधम् 'the thief deserves death'.

आ क्लेश्छीलतदुर्मतत्साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्लेश्छील-तदुर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ एतस्मात् क्लेशशब्दाद्यानित ऊर्द्धमनुकमिष्यामस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्ये ते वेदितव्याः ॥

134. From this sūtra as far as क्लिप् in sūtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of आ in this sūtra is limit inclusive, and includes क्लिप् also. The term तच्छील means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term तदुर्म means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty'. The term तत्साधुकारि means 'who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way'. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तृन् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृन्, (तच्छील-तदुर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यस्तृन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्ये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तन्निधावृत्तिषु चानुपसर्गस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नयतेः पुक् च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्वपेदेवतायामकारश्चोपधाया अनिट्प्रत्ययः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षवेश्च नियुक्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि दृष्ट्य ॥

135. The affix **हन्** comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'.

The **न्** of **हन्** is indicative, and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197). As **कृ + हन् = कर्तृ**, 1st sing. कर्ता. This affix denotes *habit* in the following; as, कर्तृ कर्तृन् 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature*:—as, मृण्डयितारः श्राविष्टायना भवन्ति बधूमूलात् 'the family of Srāvishtāyana shave the heads of their widows'; अन्नमप-हरारि आह्वरका भवन्ति आह्वरे सिद्धे 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Srāddha is accomplished'; उल्लेतारस्तौल्वलायना भवन्ति पुत्रे जाते 'the Taulvalāyanas become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill*:—as, कर्तृ कर्तृम् 'skilful maker of mats'. गन्तास्सखेटम् 'skilful hunter'.

Vart:—The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix **हन्**, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As **हु + हन् = होतृ**, 1st. sing. होतार 'the *Hotri* priest'; so also **पोतृ** 'the *Potri* priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe **उद्गातृ** 'the *Udgātri* priest'; **प्रतिहर्तृ** 'the *Pratihartri* priest'. Here the affix is **हच्**. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; *i. e.* **हन्** places udātta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197), while **हच्** places it on the last (VI. 1. 163).

Vart:—The augment **युक्** is added when **नी** takes the affix **हन्**; as **नी + युक् + हन् = नेष्टृ**, 1st. sing. नेष्टा 'the *Neshtri* priest'.

Vart:—When signifying diety, the verb **त्विष्** takes **हन्**; the letter **अ** is the substitute for the **इ** of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate **इद्** augment; as, **त्विष् + हन् = त्वष्टृ**, 1st. sing. त्वष्टा 'Tvashtri'.

Vart:—The root **क्षर** takes **हन्**, when the word to be formed means an officer; as **क्षर** 'an attendant, a door-keeper'.

Vart:—In the Veda, the root **क्षर** takes **हच्** as **क्षर**. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकृञ् निराकृञ् प्रज्ज् नोत्पद्योत्पत्तोन्मदरुच्यपन्नपवृत्तुवृधुसहचरः
इष्णुच् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलंकृञ्-निराकृञ्-प्रज्ज्-उत्पद्य-उत्पत्त-उन्मद-
रुचि-अपन्न-वृत्तु-वृधु-सह-चरः, इष्णुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु, कर्तृषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृञ्-इच्छो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अलंकृञ्मण्डनार्थाद्युचः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनेष्णुडवक्तव्यः ॥

136. The affix **इष्णुच्** comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.—अलंकृ 'to adorn', निराकृ 'to expel', प्रज्ज् 'to be born', उत्पद्य 'to be ripe', उत्पत्त 'to fly', उन्मद 'to be mad', रुच् 'to shine', अपन्नप् 'to be ashamed', वृन् 'to be'; वृध् 'to grow', सह 'to bear' and चर् 'to walk'.

As अलङ्करीष्णुः 'decorating', निराकरीष्णुः 'repudiating', प्रजननीष्णुः 'procreative', उत्पत्तिष्णुः 'apt to ripen', उत्पत्तिष्णुः 'flying', उन्मद्दिष्णुः 'mad', रोचिष्णुः 'bright', अपक्वपिष्णुः 'bashful', वर्त्तिष्णुः 'revolving', वर्द्धिष्णुः 'growing', सहिष्णुः 'patient', चरिष्णुः 'moveable'.

Vart:—The affix इष्णुच् debares by anticipation the affix युच् of III. 2. 151, after the root अलङ्क, though it has the sense of decorating'.

शेषछन्दसि ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, छन्दसि, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्ताद्धातोश्छन्वसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Ohhandas after a verb that ends in the causative णि.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As इषवं धारयिष्णवः 'who hold the stones'; वीरुधः पारयिष्णवः ।

भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छन्दसि, तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोश्छन्वसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Ohhandas, after the verb भू 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्णुः 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhāga* or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras ; as, प्राजिष्णुना जोहितचन्दनेन ।

ग्लानिस्थश्च क्स्नुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्लानि-स्थः, च, क्स्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लानि स्थि इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्चकाराद् भुवश्च तच्छीलादिषु क्स्नुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इंगोश्छन्वस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

139. The affix क्स्नु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' viz.—ग्लानि 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्था 'to stand', as well as after भू 'to be'.

As, ग्लान्स्नुः 'languid'; जिष्णुः 'victorious'; स्थास्नुः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable'; भूष्णुः 'being'.

The anuvṛtiti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really ग and not क, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ई for the आ of ह्या, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been कित् (VI. 4. 66).

In the sūtra I. 1. 5. (क्विति च) the letter ग is also included ; for ग coming before क, is changed by the rules of *sandhi* into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause *guna*.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11 (अयुक्ः किति), the augment इद् does not come after the verb स्तु, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra उक्, when an affix having an indicative क follows. Here also क includes ग ; and therefore in भृणु we have no intermediate augment इद्.

Vart.—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb वंश 'to bite ; as वंशवः पशवः 'the beasts that bite'.

त्रसिगृधिधृषित्तिपेः क्नुः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रसि-गृधि-धृषि-त्तिपेः,
क्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रसादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्तुः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. The affix क्नु comes after the verbs त्रस् 'to tremble', गृध् 'to be greedy', धृष् 'to be bold' and क्षिप् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As, त्रस्तुः 'trembling'; गृध्नुः 'greedy'; धृष्णुः 'bold' ; and क्षिप्नुः 'throwing'.

शमित्यष्टाभ्यो घिनुण् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अष्टाभ्यः,
घिनुण्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमादिभ्यो धातुभ्योऽष्टाभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु घिनुण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix घिनुण् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शम् 'to be calm', in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शम् and end with मद् in the list of verbs. Of the affix घिनुण् the real affix is इन्, the other letters are servile ; the ष is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals ; उ is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45 ; and the letter ण् causes vridhhi (VII. 2. 116) : which in the case of roots ending in म is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vridhhi being मद्.

As शमिन् 1st. sing. शमी 'calm'; likewise तनी 'desiring'; दनी 'taming'; भनी 'laborious'; भनी 'whirling', 'moving round'; कनी 'fatiguing'; क्षनी 'forbearing'; मनादी 'mad' and उन्मादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the verb उन्मद् takes the affix इण्णच्, it also takes the affix घिनुण् by the rule of वासक्य (III 1 94).

All these verbs belong to the *Divādi* class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes ; as असिता.

संपृचानुरुधाङ्यमाङ्यसपरिस्संसृजपरिदेविसंज्वरपरिक्षिपपरिरट
परिवदपरिदहपरिमुहदुषद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजाक्रीडविविचत्यजरजभजातिचरापचरा-
मुपाभ्याहनञ्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपृच-अनुरुध-आङ्यस-आङ्यस-परिस्-
संसृज-परिदेवि-संज्वर-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परिवद-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष-द्विष-द्रुह-
द्रुह-युज-आक्रीड - विविच - त्यज - रज - भज - अतिचर - अपचर - आमुप - अभ्याहनः,
च, (तच्छीलादिषु, घिनुण्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्पृचादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix घिनुण् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz :— सम्पृच्, अनुरुध्, आयम्, आयत्, परिस्, संसृज्, परिदेव्, संज्वर, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवर्त्, परिदह्, परिमुह्, दुष्, द्विष्, द्रुह्, रुह्, युज्, आक्रीड्, विविच्, त्यज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमुप् and अभ्याहन्.

The root संपृच् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhādi class, and not as belonging to Adādi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The root परिदेवि belongs to Bhvādi class, the simple verb being देव् 'to sport'. The verb क्षिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tudādi and Divādi, and both are taken here. युज् 'to concentrate' is Divādi, and युज् 'to join' is Rudhādi; both are meant here. The verb रज् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृच् + घिनुण् = संपर्क + इन् (VII. 2. 52) = सम्पर्किन् 1st. sing. सम्पर्की 'mixture'; similarly, अनुरोधी 'compliant'; आयामी 'one who restrains'; आयामी 'one who exerts'; परिसारी 'that which flows round'; संसर्गी 'united'; परिदेवी 'lamenting'; संज्वारी 'greatly heating'; परिक्षिपी 'moving about'; परिराटी 'crying aloud'; परिवारी 'reviling'; परिवारी 'burning'; परिमोही 'beguiling'; दोषी 'guilty'; द्वेषी 'hating'; द्रोही 'quarrelling'; दोही 'milking'; योगी 'uniting or concentrating'; आक्रीडी 'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; त्यागी 'renouncing'; रागी 'yearning after'; भागी 'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; आमोपी 'a thief'; अभ्यापाती 'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory च of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

वै कपलसकत्यस्त्रम्भः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वै, कप-लस-कत्य-
स्त्रम्भः (घिनुण्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कप लस कत्य स्त्रम्भ एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो विशान्त्वपरश्च घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix घिनुण् comes after the verbs कप् 'to injure', लप् 'to embrace and sport', कथ् 'to praise' and स्त्रम्भ 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि ।

As विकारी 'injuring'; विजाती 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकरयी 'vaunting'; and विलम्बी 'confiding'.

अपे च लपः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लपः, (चिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लप कान्तौ, अस्माद्वातोरपउपपदे चकारादौ च चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verb लप 'to wish' when compounded with the preposition अप and वि.

As अपजापी 'thirsty'; विजापी. The term वि is to be read into this sūtra by the force of the word 'and'.

प्रे लपसृद्रुमथवदवसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लप-सृ-द्रु-मथ-वद-वसः, (चिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उपपदे लपादिभ्यो चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verbs लप्, छृ, द्रु, मथ, वद् and वस when compounded with the preposition वि.

As प्रजापी 'prattling'; प्रसारी 'extending around'; प्रधावी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रमाथी 'tormenting'; प्रवादी 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वस् here is the Bhvādi वस् meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikaraṇa is elided.

निन्दहिंसक्रिशखाद्विनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिव्याभाषासूयो
बुञ् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द-हिंस-क्रिश-खाद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परि-
वादि-व्याभाष-असूयः, बुञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्दादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु बुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix बुञ् is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—
निन्द्, हिन्स्, क्रिग्, खाद्, विनाश, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवाद, व्याभाष and असूय ।

In this sūtra the whole phrase ending with असूय has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द्+बुञ् = निन्दकः (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसकः 'injuring'; क्रिगकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; खादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिक्षेपकः 'surrounding'; परिराटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवादकः 'a plaintiff'; व्याभाषकः 'detracting'; and असूयकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix ण्वुल् taught in III. 1. 133, as by adding बुञ्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāṣa :—

"The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an *apavāda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavāda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' i. e. with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177". Therefore the affixes वृञ् &c, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'.

देविक्रुशोश्चोपसर्गे ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-क्रुशोः, च, उपसर्गे,
(युञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवयतेः क्रुशोश्चोपसर्गे उपपत्तेः युञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

147. The affix युञ् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and क्रुश् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आदेवकः 'one who sports or laments'; आक्रोशकः 'vociferous, a reviler'; परिदेवकः 'one who laments'; परिक्रोशकः 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an upasarga'? Observe देवयिता and क्रोडा formed by हन् (III. 2. 135).

चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्,
अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्यश्चाकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु युञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix युच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चञ् + युच् = चलनः 'moving' (VII. 1. 1); चोपनः 'creeping'; शब्दनः 'sounding'; रवणः 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe पठिता विद्याम्.

अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तेतः, च, हला-
देः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेभ्यो धातुः हलादिरकर्मकस्ततश्च युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudāttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicative.

As वर्त्तनः 'being'; वर्द्धनः 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudāttet'? Observe भविता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe एषिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes हन्.

Why have we used the term आदि 'beginning' in the sūtra? Observe जुगुप्सनः 'censuring'; नीमांसनः 'an investigator. For without the word आदि, the rule would have stood thus :—अनुदात्तेतश्च हन्: which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after एध् we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after जुगुप्स which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as वसिता वस्त्रं ।

जुचङ्कस्यदन्द्रस्यस्रगृध्रज्वलशुचलपपतपदः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥

जु-चङ्कस्य-दन्द्रस्य-स्र-गृध्र-ज्वल-शुच-लप-पत-पदः, (युच्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जु प्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्ये ॥

150. The affix युच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', viz :—जु, चङ्कस्य, दन्द्रस्य, स्र, गृध्र, ज्वल, शुच, लप, पत and पद.

The verb जु is not to be found in the Dhātupāṭha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a *sautra dhātu*. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As जु + युच् = जो + अन (VII. I. 1. and VII. 3. 84) = ज्वनः (VI. I. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चङ्कस्य + युच् = चङ्कम् + अन् (II. 4. 74) = चङ्कमनः 'moving about'; so also दन्द्रमणः 'wandering'; सरणः 'flowing'; गर्दनः 'greedy'; ज्वलनः 'burning'; शोचनः 'grieving'; लपणः 'desiring'; पतनः 'falling'; पदनः 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word पद in the above, indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as पद is a चलनार्थ verb. Others say that the inclusion of पद in this aphorism indicates the existence of the *paribhāṣā* already given under sūtra III. 2. 146 i. e. the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. The affix ह्यणुच् which by III. 2. 136 is added to भलङ्कम्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of हन् to भलङ्कम् (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of ष्वल् to the same. If a *tāchchhika apavāda* were to supersede only an *atāchchhika utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of युच् to पद, because in that case the addition of उक्त् to पद by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of *jñāpāna*, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The *jñāpaka* is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गन्ता खेदे विकथनः ।

क्रुधमण्डार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-मण्ड-अर्थेभ्यः, च, (युच्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुध क्रोधे, मण्ड भूषायाम्, इत्येतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. And after the verbs having the sense of क्रुध 'to be angry' and मण्ड 'to adorn', the affix युच् is employed.

As क्रोधनः 'wrathful'; रोषणः 'irascible'; मण्डनः 'adorning'; भूषणः 'ornament'. But not so after the verb भलङ्क् to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

न यः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यः, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारान्ताद्गतोर्युच् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

152. The affix युच् is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debar III. 2. 149. As कनूयिता 'making creaking sound'; क्षमायिता 'trembling'. In these cases the affix हन् is employed (III. 2. 135).

सूददीपदीक्ष ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दीक्षः, च, (युच्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूददीपदीक्ष इत्येतेभ्यश्च युच्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूद् 'to strike', दीप् 'to shine' and दीक्ष 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anudâtlet*, and by sūtra III. 2. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take तन्. As, सूदित् 1st. sing सूदित् 'one who strikes'; दीपित् 'one who shines'; दीक्षित् 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after दीप्; this *apavāda* rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the *Paribhāṣā* given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned *Paribhāṣā* is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कम्पा युवतिः and कम्पना युवतिः 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र and युच् to the verb कम्. So also कम्पा and कम्पना शाखा 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूद्, how do we get the forms मधुसूदन and रिपुसूदन? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (*yogavibhāga*), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words मधुसूदन &c belong to the नन्वादि class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix ल्यु or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix ल्युद्.

लपपतपदस्याभूवृषहनकमगमशृभ्य उकञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लप-पत-पद-स्या-भू-वृष-हन-कम-गम-शृभ्यः, उकञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लपादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix उकञ् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—लप्, पत्, पद्, स्या, भू, वृष्, हन्, कर्, गम् and गृ ।

As अपजापुर्कं वृषलसंगतं, प्रपातुका गर्भा भवन्ति, उपपातुकंसगवं, उपस्थायुका एनं पशवो भवन्ति, प्रभावकमलं भवति, प्रवर्षकाः पर्जन्याः, आपातकं कापालिकस्य गूलम्, कामुक एनं स्त्रियो भवन्ति, आगामुकं वाराणसीं रत्न आहः, किंशारुकं तीक्ष्णनाहः । The य is added after स्या in उपस्थायुक् by VII. 3. 33. The हन् is changed into घात् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

जल्पभिन्नकुहलुण्टवृङः पाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जल्प-भिन्न-कुह-लुण्ट-वृङः, पाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जल्पादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु पाकन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix पाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—जल्प, भिन्न, कुह, लुण्ट and वृ ।

The व is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix लीप् i. e. long ई (IV. I. 41). As जल्पाकः 'talkative'; भिक्षाकः 'a beggar'; कुट्टाकः 'who or what cuts'; लुण्ठाकः 'a thief or robber'; बराकः 'low, miserable'. In the feminine जल्पाकी &c..

प्रजोरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजोः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वाज्जवतेस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix इनि comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc'. after the verb प्रज् 'to hasten forward'.

As प्रजविन्, 1st. sing. प्रजवी 'an express, courier', 1st. dual प्रजविनौ &c.

जिदृक्षिविश्रीखवमाव्यथाभ्यमपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥

जि-दृ-क्षि-विश्रि-इ-व-म-अव्यथ-अभ्यम-परिभू-प्रसूभ्यः, च, (इनिः, तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्य इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

157. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जि 'to conquer', इ 'to respect', क्षि 'to waste, to dwell, to go', विश्रि 'to shelter', इ 'to go', वम् 'to vomit', अव्यथ 'not to give pain', अभ्यम 'to injure', परिभू 'to humiliate' and प्रसू 'to beget'.

As जिजिन् 1st. sing. जयी 'conquering'; इरी 'respecting'; क्षयी 'wasting'; विश्रयी 'wasting'; अत्ययी 'exceeding'; वमी 'vomiting'; अव्ययी 'free from pain'; अभ्ययी 'not injuring'; परिभयी 'humiliating' and प्रसयी 'procreating'.

स्पृहृगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥

स्पृहि-गृहि-पति-दयि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-श्रद्धाभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृहृगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धा एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आलुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आलुचि शीङो ग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix आलुच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words:— स्पृह 'to desire', गृह 'to seize', पत 'to go', दय 'to give, to go, to protect', निद्रा 'to sleep', तन्द्रा 'to be tired' and श्रद्धा 'to venerate'.

The word निद्रा is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb द्रा 'to go crookedly'; so also तन्द्रा is formed by adding तद् to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the द् into न्. The term श्रद्धा is formed by adding श्रद् to the verb धृ 'to hold'. The first three verbs belong to Churādi class and take लिच्.

As, स्पृहयानुः 'disposed to be desirous of'; गृहयानुः 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; पतयानुः 'tending or prone to fall'; दयानुः 'compassionate'; निद्रानुः 'disposed to sleep'; तन्द्रानुः 'slothful'; श्रद्धानुः 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding भव।

Var :—The affix आनुच् comes also after the root शीङ् 'to lie down'; as शयानुः 'disposed to lie down'.

दाधेदसिश्दसदो रुः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दा-धेद्-सि-श्द-सदः, रुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा धेद् ति श्व सव इत्येतेभ्यो रुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix रु comes after the verbs दा 'to give', धेद् 'to suck', सि 'to bind', श्व 'to fall' and सव 'to sit'.

As, दारुः 'a munificent man'; धारुर्वत्सो मातरम् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the रु being taken as equivalent to उ. As संरुः 'binding'; शत्रुः 'falling'; and सद्रुः 'resting'.

सुघस्यदः क्त्वरच् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-घसि-अदः, क्त्वरच्, (तच्छीलादि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु घसि अद इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्त्वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. The affix क्त्वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes after the verbs सु 'to flow', घसि 'to eat' and अद 'to eat'.

As सुमरः 'going, a kind of deer'; घस्मरः 'gluttonous'; अदमरः 'voracious'.

भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्ज-भास-मिदः, घुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्ज भास मिद इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

161. The affix घुरच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs भञ्ज 'to break', भास् 'to shine', and मिद 'to be fat'.

As भञ्ज+घुरच्=भञ्ज+उर (VII. 3. 52)=भङ्गुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory घ. So also मेदुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासुरं ज्योतिः 'splendid light'.

After the verb भञ्ज this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिभिदिछिदेः कुरच् ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि-भिदि-छिदेः, कुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदिभिदिछिदेः धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यर्थः सम्प्रसारणं कुरच्च वक्तव्यः ॥

162. The affix कुरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs विद् 'to know', भिद् 'to divide' and छिद् 'to pierce'.

As विदुरः पण्डितः 'a knowing Pandit'; भिदुरः काष्ठम् 'a splitting or fragile wood'; छिदुरा रज्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs विद् and छिद्.

Var :—The affix कुरच् comes after the verb व्यध 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधुरः ।

इण्-नश्-जिसर्तिभ्यः करप् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण्-नश्-जिसर्तिभ्यः, करप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण् नश् जि सर्ति इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कर्प्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix करप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs इ 'to go', नश् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and छ 'to flow'.

The प् is indicatory in order to introduce the augment लुक् between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 71). Thus इ + करप् = इ + लु + वर = इत्वरः, fem. इत्वरी 'a traveller'; नश्वरः, fem. नश्वरी 'transitory'; जित्वरः, fem. जित्वरी 'victorious'; छत्वरः, fem. छत्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वल् प्रत्ययान्त, and ought to have taken the intermediate इद् (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वरश्च ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्वरः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्वर इति निगात्यते, गमेरनुनासिकलोपः करप्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The word गत्वर is formed by eliding the म् of गन् and adding the affix करप्. As गत्वरः, fem. गत्वरी 'locomotive, transient'.

जागुरुकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, ऊकः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागर्तुरुकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

165. The affix ऊक comes after the verb जागृ 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागुरुकः 'wakeful'.

यजजपदशां यङ् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशाम्, यङ् (तच्छीलादिषु, ऊकः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादीनां यङन्तानामूकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

166. The affix ऊक comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs यज्, जप् and इग् when they end in the affix यङ्.

The intensives of these verbs take ऊक. As यायजूकः 'a performer of frequent sacrifices'; जंजपूकः 'a mutterer of prayers repeatedly'; इग्ग्यूकः 'a snake (what bites frequently)'.

नमिकम्पिस्म्यजसकमहिंसदीपो रः ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमि-कम्पि-स्मि-अजस-कम-हिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नम्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु रःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix र comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs नम 'to bow', कम्प् 'to shake', स्मि 'to smile', अजस् 'not to cease', कम् 'to desire', हिन्स 'to injure', and शीप् 'to shine'.

Thus, नम्रं काष्ठं 'soft wood'; कम्पा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्मेरं मुखं 'smiling face'; अजस्रं जुहोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कम्पा युवती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिंस रक्षः 'the injuring Rākshas'; शीप् काष्ठं 'brilliant wood'.

The word अजस्रं is an adverb, and is derived from the root जस् 'to set free', with the negative particle अ, and the affix र; as अ + जस् + र = अजस्रं ।

सनाशंसभिन्न उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-भिन्नः, उः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सजन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसेभिर्लेश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix उ comes after roots that have taken the affix सन्, and after the verbs आशस् 'to wish' and भिष् 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term सन् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix सन्, and not the verb, सन् because the verb सन् is never seen with this affix.

As, चिकीर्षुः 'desirous of doing'; जिहीषुः 'desirous of taking'; आशंसुः 'desirous'; भिषुः 'a beggar'.

The verb आशस् with the upasarga आ is the verb शसि 'to desire' and not the verb वसि 'to praise'.

विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छी० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदेर्नुमागम इषेर्नुस्वमुकारश्च प्रत्ययो निपात्यते तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विद् we add the augment नुम् and then the affix उ; as, विद् + नुम् + उ = विन्दुः (I. I. 47) = वेदनशीलः 'intelligent'; so of इष् 'to wish', the ष is replaced by छ, and we have इच्छुः = एषणशीलः 'desirous'.

क्याच्चन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यात्, चन्दसि, (तच्छीला०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यप्रत्ययान्ताद्वातोश्चन्दसि त्रिषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकारप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix उ comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्य in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्य includes the three affixes क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यप् (see sūtras III. I. 8, 11, 13, &c). As मित्रयुः, संस्वेदयुः, सुप्तयुः (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 4).

In the modern Sanskrit क्त्वं will be employed. As निनीयिता. By sūtra VII. 4. 33, the long ई replaces the final अ, when क्यच् follows; as पुन + क्यच् = पुनी + य = पुनीय. Why then in the case of मित्रयुः there is not the substitution of long ई for the अ of मित्र? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chhandas the long ई is not substituted for the अ।

आद्गमहनजनः किकिनी लिट् च ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्-ऋ-
गम-हन-जनः, कि-किनी, लिट्, च, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य ऋवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च गम हन जन इत्येतेभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु किकिनी प्रत्ययौ भवतः, लिट् च तौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किकिनावृत्सर्गश्छन्दसि सदादिभ्यो ऋणानात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां धाक्कुम्भजननिगमिनमिभ्यः किकिनी वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सहिवहिचलिपतिभ्यो यङन्तेभ्यः किकिनी वक्तव्यौ ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किन् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' come after the verbs that end in long आ, or short or long ऋ, and after the verbs गम् 'to go', हन् 'to kill', and जन् 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like लिट् causing reduplication of the root.

The इ after आ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been न्, then by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) short ऋ would only be included and not long ऋ. But the present rule is applicable to long ऋ as well.

Thus पा + कि = पदि: 'drinking'; as पदि: सोम 'drinking the soma-juice'; दहिर्गा: 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). मित्रावरुणौ ततुरि: (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). वरे भग्वाजगुरि: (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम् + किन् = जग्मि: 'being in constant motion, wind'; जग्मियुवा (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); हन् + किन् = जप्ति: 'killing, a weapon offensive'; जप्तिवृत्रम् (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); जन् + किन् = जज्ञि: as जज्ञिबीजम् (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter क् in these affixes is indicatory. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes कित्, because these being treated like लिट् will be कित् by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be कित् by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when लिट् follows, *guna* is the substitute of the verb ऋच् and of those that end in the long ऋ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused *guna*. It is to prevent this *guna* of the letter क् that we have annexed an indicatory क् to these affixes.

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sūtra, as we see them in सद् &c.; as सेदि: (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); नेमि: (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the roots धाम्, कृम्, छ, जनि,

गमि, and नमि in the secular literature also; as, वृधिः, चक्रिः, सन्निः, जज्ञिः, जग्मिः, नेमिः ।

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the Intensive (यङन्त) roots of सह्, वह्, चल्, and यत्. As, सासहिः, वावहिः, चाचजिः, यायतिः (VII. 4. 83).

स्वपितृषोर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि-तृषोः, नजिङ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेष्टपेथ तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धृषेथेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष् 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप् + नजिङ् = स्वमज् 1st. sing. स्वमक् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्णज् 1st. sing. तृष्णक् 'covetous, thirsty'.

Vart:—So also after the verb धृष् 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्णज् 1st. sing. धृष्णक् 'bold, impudent'.

शृवन्द्योऽरारुः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ-वन्द्योः, आरुः, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृ हिंसायाम् वन्दि अभिवादनस्तुत्योः एताभ्यां तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृष्वारुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

173. The affix आरु comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शृ 'to injure' and वन्द 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As शरारुः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्दारुः 'praising, a bard'.

भियः क्लुकनौ ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, क्लु-क्लुकनौ, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिभी भये अस्माद्धतोस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्लुकनौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्लु कत्रपि वक्तव्यः ॥

174. The affixes क्लु and क्लुकन come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भि 'to fear'.

As, भीरुः 'fearful, timid'; भीलुकः 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

Vart:—The affix क्लुकन् should also be stated; as भीरुकः ।

स्थेश्भासपिसकसो वरच् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-ईश-भास-पिस-कसः, वरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था ईश भास पिस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs स्था 'to stand' ईश 'to rule', भास् 'to shine', पिस् 'to go' and कस 'to go'.

As स्थावरः 'immoveable'; ईश्वरः 'ruler, God'; वेस्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकस्वरः 'opening, expanding'.

यश्च यङः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, च, यङः, (तच्छीलादिषु, वरच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या प्रापणे भस्माद्यङन्तात्तच्छीजादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix यङ्.

With the affix यङ्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as यायावरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sūtra I. 1. 58.

भाजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपृजुग्रावस्तुवः क्तिप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥

भाज-भास-धुर्वि-द्युत्-उर्जि-पृ-जु-ग्रावस्तुवः, क्तिप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीजादिषु कर्तृषु क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्तिप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs भाज् 'to shine', भास 'to shine', धुर्व 'to injure', द्युत् 'to shine', ऊर्ज 'to be strong', पृ 'to fill', जु 'to move rapidly' and स्तु 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word मावन् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभाज् 1st. sing. विभाट् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. भाः 'light'; धुर्व् + क्तिप् = धूर् (VI. 4. 21), 1st. sing. धूः 'who injures'; विद्युत् 'lightening'; ऊर्ज 1st. sing. ऊर्कं 'strength'; पृ 1st. sing. पूः 'what fills'; जुः 'swift'. In the case of जु, a long vowel is the substitute of जु; मावस्तुन् (VI. 1. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्तिप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that दाऽस्वरूपविधि does not apply in *tāchchhika* affixes.

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,

(तच्छीलादिषु, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्यस्तच्छीजादिषु क्तिप्प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ किञ्चिप्रच्छयायतस्तु कतमजुभीणां दीर्घाऽसम्प्रसारणं च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ युतिगमिजुहोतीनां द्वे च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जुहोतेर्दीर्घश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रुभय इत्यस्य इस्वश्च द्वे च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायतेः सम्प्रसारणं च ॥

178. The affix क्तिप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As युज्, 1st. sing. युक् 'joining'; छित् 'piercing'; भित् 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्तिप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is *samprasāraṇa* of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.

Vart:—When *किप्* follows, the long vowel is the substitute of *वच्* 'to speak', *प्रच्छ्* 'to ask', *आयतस्तु* 'to praise long', *कटम्* 'to move through a mat', *जु* 'to move rapidly', and *श्री* 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. I. 16).

As, *वाक्* 'the voice'; *प्रच्छ् + किप्* = *प्रश् + किप्* (VI. I. 10) = *प्रश् + किप्* (VIII. 2. 36) = *प्राश्* (VIII. 4. 56) 'who asks'; *आयतस्तु* 'who praises long'; *कटम्* 'a worm'; *जु* 'swift'; *श्री* 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word *जु* which was mentioned in the last *sûtra* is redundant here.

Vart:—There is reduplication of the verbs *द्युत्* 'to shine', *गम्* 'to go' and *हु* 'to invoke', when *किप्* follows. As, *वियुत्* 'shining'; *जगत्* 'going, the world'.

Vart:—There is lengthening also of the vowel of *जुहु*: as *जुहुः* 'a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire'.

Vart:—The root *हृ* 'to tear' is shortened also; as *हृद्* 'tearing'.

Vart:—The verb *ध्या* 'to think' has *samprasāraṇa*; as *धीः* 'thinking'.

भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः ॥१७९॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, संज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (किप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः संज्ञायामन्तरे च गम्यमाने *किप्*प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

179. The affix *किप्* comes after the verb *भू* 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, *विभूः* 'a person called Vibhū'; *प्रतिभूः* 'a surety i. e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor'.

विप्रसंभ्यो ड्वसंज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-संभ्यो, हु, असंज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सम् इत्येवं पूर्वाद्भवतेर्धातोः ड्वप्रत्ययो भवति न चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ड्वप्रकरणे मितद्र्वादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

180. The affix *डु* comes after the verb *भू* when it is preceded by the upasargas *वि*, *प्र* and *सम्* provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As *विभूः* 'all pervading'; *प्रभूः* 'lord'; *संभूः* 'Creator'.

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe *विभूः* 'a person called Vibhū'.

Vart:—The words *मितद्रु* &c, also are formed by this affix. As *मितद्रु* 'the sea'; *संभूः* 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied *डु* and not *किप्* to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes: (1) To prevent the rules relating to *dhātus* from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of *तुक्* augment: Thus the 1st. dual of *मितद्रु* is *मितद्रू*, 1st. pl. is *मितद्रवः*. Here there is no substitution of *उकङ्* which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if *हु* had retained its *dhātu* characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. I. 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. मितद्रवा &c, (2.) We have no त् which rule VI. 1. 71 required. मितं द्रवति=मितद्रुः ।

धः कर्मणि ष्टन् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मणि, ष्टन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धयतेर्धधातोश्च कर्मणि कारको ष्टन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

181. The affix ष्टन् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा 'to feed'.

The indicatory ष denotes that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (ई) affix. As धात्री 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhāti*) all medicinal properties'.

दान्नीशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्-नी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु-तुद्-सि-सिच्-मिह्-पत्-दश्-नहः, करणे, (ष्टन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् नी शस् यु युज स्तु तुद् सि सिच् मिह पत दश नह एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारको ष्टन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

182. The affix ष्टन्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs दाप् 'to cut', नी 'to lead', शस् 'to hurt', यु 'to join', युज् 'to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुद् 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', सिच् 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urine', पत् 'to fall', दश् 'to bite' and नह 'to bind'.

As दाक्, 1st. sing. neuter दाक् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts); नेत्र 1st. sing. नेत्रम् 'eye'; शस्त्रं (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; योक् 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; योक्त्रम् 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोत्रं 'a penegyric'; तोत्रं 'a goad', सेत्रं 'a ligament'; सेक् 'a sprinkling vessel'; मेढ्रम् 'the penis'; पत्रम् 'a vehicle'; दंष्ट्रा 'a large tooth'.

The word दंष्ट्रा belongs to the *Ajādi* class and hence forms its feminine in दाप्(आ) and not in ई (IV. 1: 4).

The root दश् is read in the aphorism without its nasal *i* *e.* as दश्. This indicates by implication that दश् loses its nasal before some affixes such as ल्युट्; thus we have दशनम् 'tooth'

And lastly नह् + ष्टन् = नह्ष्ट्र fem. नह्ष्ट्री (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हलसूकरयोः पुंवः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुवः, (ष्टन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूष् पूङ् पवने, भस्माद्धातोः करणे कारको ष्टन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्चेत् करणं हलसूकरयोरवयवो भवति ॥

183. The affix ष्टन् is employed after the verb पू with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb पू includes both पूङ् and पूष्; as पौत्रम् 'a plough-share'; पौत्रने 'the snout of a hog'.

अर्तिलूधूसूखनसहचर इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्ति-लू-धू-सू-
खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्ति लू धू सू खन सह चर एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs कृ 'to go', लू 'to cut', धू 'to shake', सू 'to bring forth', खन् 'to dig', सह 'to bear', and चर 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अर्तिन् 'a rudder'; लङ्घिन् 'a sickle'; ध्विन् 'a fan'; सविन् 'cause of production'; खनिन् 'a spade'; सहिन् 'patience'; चरिन् 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुवः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुवः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवतेर्धातोः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative, and not descriptive.

The verb पू includes two verbs पूङ् and पूञ् both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as त्विन् an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of *Kusa* grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.

कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च, ऋषि-देवतयोः,
(इत्रः, पुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुवः वरणे कर्तरि च इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति, ऋषिदेवतयोर्ध्यासंख्ये संबन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' in the sense of 'the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a diety.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devata* the force is that of an agent. As, पवित्रोऽयमृषिः 'this sage is sacred' (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified) अग्निः पवित्रं स मा पुनातु 'the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me'. So also, वायुः सोमः सूर्य इन्द्रः पवित्रं ते मा पुनन्तु ।

शीतः क्तः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-इतः, क्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीतो धातोर्बर्तमानार्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicative शि, take the affix क्त, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishthā* affix क्त, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time ; and is so ordained by rule III 2. 102. The present sūtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicative चि in the *Dhātupāṭha*; as चिमिदा 'to be affectionately inclined'; मित्रः (मिर् + क्त = मिर् + त = मिन् + न (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So चिदिवा—द्विषः 'sounding inarticulately'; चिध्या—धृष्टः 'bold'. The anuvṛitti of वर्तमाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थेभ्यः,

च, (क्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिर्ज्ञानम्, पूजा सत्कारः, एतार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानार्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क्त is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राजां मतः,—इष्टः,—बुद्धः,—ज्ञातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, thinks, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word च is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sūtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीलितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; क्षान्तः 'forbearing'; आक्रुष्टः 'censured'; जुष्टः 'pleased'; रुष्टः 'angry'; रुषितः 'angry'; अभिव्याहृतः 'uttered'; हृष्टः 'happy'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; कान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उद्यतः 'ready'; कष्टः 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also:—सुप्तः 'sleeping'; शयितः 'lying down'; आशितः 'eaten'; लिप्तः 'smeared'; तृप्तः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

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उणादयो बहुलं ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ उण-आदयः, बहुलम्, (वर्तमाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः प्रत्यया वर्तमानेऽर्थे संज्ञायां विषये बहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Un' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛtti from sūtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Unādi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उण् is the first of these. The first sūtra of *Unādi* affixes is the following—

कृवापाजिनिस्वदिसाध्यगूश्च उण् ॥

The affix उण् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', नि 'to scatter', स्वद् 'to be pleasant to the taste', साध् 'to accomplish', and भग् 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ+उण्=कारः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः 'the wind'; पायुः 'the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; मायुः 'the bile'; स्वादुः 'sweet'; साधुः 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and भायुः 'quickly'.

These *Unādi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बहुल has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unādi* affixes. Thus though the affixes *उलच्* is ordained after *हृच्*, it comes also after *शक्* as *शंकुज्*. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pāṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unādi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover *all* the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is, their effects are not without remainder (*सशेष*). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niruktas* and grammarians of the school of Śākāṭyāṇa, consider all nouns and substantives (*नाम*) as derivative words from simple roots (*धातुज*). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (*प्रकृति*) or affix (*प्रत्यय*) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unādi* affixes :

बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुवृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि वेधान् ।

कार्यसशेषविधेश्च तदुक्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ॥

नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च लोकम् ।

यत्र पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेः तदुक्तम् ॥ २ ॥

संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।

कार्याद्व्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुपादिषु ॥ ३ ॥

भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ २॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यन्ते, (उणादयः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेकाले उणादयः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unādi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sūtra, it was taught that the *Unādi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on *finding* that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत् + मनिन् = वरमन् 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर् + मनिन् = चर्मन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भस्मन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

भविष्यति गम्यादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, गमि-आदयः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले गम्यादयः शब्दाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनद्यतन उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unādi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गमि ग्रामम् 'intending to go to the village'; आगामी 'that which has to come' So also प्रस्थायी 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतिबोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतियोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोगी 'an enemy'; प्रतिवायी; आयायी; भावी, &c.

Vart :—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* future i. e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future लट्, and not of the second future लृट्. As गमि ग्रामम् 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः,
लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्पुराशब्दयोर्निपातयोरुपपदयोर्भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Lat' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yâvat' and 'purâ'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and तावत् are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sūtra from the last. Thus आज्ञोक्ते ते निपतति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावत्स्य दुरात्मनः समुन्मूलनाय शत्रुघ्नं प्रेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrughna to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (nipātas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावद् वास्यति तावद् भोक्ष्यते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा गच्छिष्यति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर 'city'.

विभाषा कदाकर्हिः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्हिः,
(भविष्यति, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कदाकर्हि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्विभाषा भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs 'kadâ' and 'karhi'.

As कदा भुङ्क्ते 'when will he eat', or कदा भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता ; so also कर्हि भुङ्क्ते or भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्सायाम्,
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तपदवे लिप्सायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Lat' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra. By using the word वृत्त along with किं it is meant that the rule applies even when किम् takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम. The word लिप्ता means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति or भोजयितारः 'whom will you feed'? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरो भिक्षां दास्यति, दासति, दाता, or कतनो भिक्षां दास्यति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me'?

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पाटलिपुत्रं गमिष्यति 'who will go to Pāṭaliputra'.

लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्स्यमान-सिद्धौ, च,
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ गम्यमानायां भविष्यतिकाले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word लिप्स्यमानसिद्धिः is equal to लिप्स्यमानात् सिद्धि, an Ablative-Tatpurusha Compound, signifying *siddhi* or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किम् in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As यो भक्तं दासति, स स्वर्गं गच्छति 'he who gives food, goes to heaven'; यो भक्तं दास्यति or दाता, स स्वर्गं गमिष्यति or गन्ता.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (लिप्स्यमान) the success (सिद्धि), in the shape of *svarga*, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences, i. e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

लोहर्हलक्षणे च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोह-अर्ह-लक्षणे, च, (भविष्य-
तिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडयः प्रेषादिलक्ष्यते येन स लोडयलक्षणो भास्वर्थः, तत्र वर्तमानाद्भातोर्भविष्यति काले विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोडय means 'having the sense of the affix लोड् or imperative mood'. The force of *lat* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified (लक्ष्य)'. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदगच्छति (आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता) अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'if the professor comes (i. e. will come) then read you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, लोडयलक्षणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकं भविष्यतिकाले लोडयलक्षणार्थे वर्तमानाद्भातोर्विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लट् ॥

9. The 'Lat' (present) or the 'Lin' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'muhūrta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word च we read the anuvṛitti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिक is a secondary derivative from ऊर्ध्वमुहूर्त्त, meaning 'that which exists in time above a muhūrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛiddhi takes place irregularly of the उ of मु and not of ऊ as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्त्तादपरि मुहूर्त्तस्य उपाध्यायश्चेदगच्छेत् (आगच्छति, आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता), अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

तुमुन्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्यायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमुन्, वुल-लौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्यायाम्, (भविष्यति काले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्यायां क्रियायामुपरि भातोर्भविष्यति काले तुमुन्वुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियार्यायां क्रियायामुपरि वासरूपेण तत्तादयो न भवन्ति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'nvul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the future, when the

word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोज्कुम् व्रजति 'he goes to eat'; भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is व्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्था), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as भिल्लिस्थे इति अस्य जटा: 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg.' Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action'? Observe धावतस्ते वतिष्यति वण्डः 'running, thy stick will fall'.

Now, it might be asked why ण्वुन् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix लृट् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. 1. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of ण्वुन् in spite of लृट्.

Vart.—The repetition of the affix ण्वुन् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the sake of prohibiting the application of the affixes like लृच् &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of वासकरूप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्त्ता व्रजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्तुम् instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनाश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावइति प्रकृत्य ये पञ्चादयो विहितस्ते च भाववचना भविष्यतिकाले क्रियायामुपपदे क्रियार्थायां भवन्ति ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as धम् &c. (III. 1. 13.) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाय व्रजति 'he goes to cook'; भूतये व्रजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; पुटये व्रजति ।

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वासकरूप rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence तुमुन् would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the sūtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक, not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been especially formed by the भाववाच्य affixes, वच् &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाच्य nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अण् कर्मणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कर्मणि, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरणप्रत्ययो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपपदे क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायाम् ॥

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अण् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वाचक्य not applying, the affix एवञ् would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavāda rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of एवञ् of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परस्व given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क &c. Therefore this अण् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अण् of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple verbs ending in long आ, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present अण् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः। So also कम्बलदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give blanket'; भृगुदायो व्रजति। दा + अण् = दायः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काण्डजायो व्रजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अण् would have been applied even by III 2. 1.

लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, शेषे, च, (भविष्यति, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायां, धातोः, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे गुह्ये भविष्यतिकाले चकारात् क्रियायां चोपपदे क्रियार्थायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix 'Lṛiṭ' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति ब्रजति 'he goes that I will do'; हरिष्यामि इति ब्रजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लृटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृटः, सद्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृटः स्थाने सत्संज्ञौ घटशानचौ वा भवतः ॥

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'satri' and 'śānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lṛiṭ'.

The सत् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes घट् and शानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace लृट्; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases सत् will invariably replace लृट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लृट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन्तं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do'; करिष्यमाणं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाण. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जयिष्यमाणो वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिष्यमाणः शरारं शरासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन्, करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यन् is thus evolved. As कृ + लृट् = कृ + स्य + लृट् (III. 1. 33) = कर + इट् + स्य + शट् = करिष्यत् nom. sing. करिष्यन्. In other words the participial affixes भन् (भन्त) and मान, technically known as शट् and शानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्य of the Future.

अनद्यतने लृट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लृट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परिदेवने भवस्तनी भविष्यदर्थे वक्तव्या ॥

15. The affix 'Lut' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lṛiṭ'. As भः कर्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. इवो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लृट् will be employed and not लुट्. As अद्य भवे वा भविष्यति 'it will be today or tomorrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart.—The First Future (लृट्) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लुट्) when sorrow is expressed. As इयं नु कदा गन्ता, यैव पादौ निरुपाति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' अयं नु कदा ज्ञेयता, य एवमनभियुक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'!

पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश-स्पृशः,

घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदरुजो धातुभ्यो घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pad' (to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'viś' (to enter), and 'spriś' (to touch).

The anuvritti of 'future' does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद + घञ् = पादः 'foot'; रुज् + घञ् = रोगः 'disease'; so,वेशः 'entrance'.

Vart.—The verb स्पृश् takes घञ् when the sense is that of 'distress'; as स्वर्गः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्पर्श meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix भञ्, under rule III. 1. 134; as स्वर्गो देवदत्तः । There is difference in accent between these two words.

स स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, स्थिरे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्तेर्ह्रातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तरि घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ व्याधिमत्स्थवन्नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent *moves* through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, स + घञ् = सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खदिरसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say 'permanently fixed'? Observe सत्ता 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

Vart.—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As अतिसारः 'dysentery'; विसारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength'.

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghañ' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, पच्+पञ्=पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); रगणः 'abandoning'; रगः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes पञ् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As पक्तिः, पचनम्, पाकौ, पाकाः । These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्तरि, च, कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये धातौर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. And the affix 'ghan' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्रासः (*i. e.* प्रास्यन्ति तम्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रसेवः (*i. e.* प्रसीव्यन्ति तम्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; आहारः (*i. e.* आहरन्ति अस्माद्भक्षम्) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As मधुराहारः, तक्षशिजाहारः ।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe शेषः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word शेष is related to the verb निवसि as agent, and the affix is consequently not घञ्.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्यः कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that घञ् may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as को भवता दायो दत्तः 'what gift was given by you'; को भवता लाभो लब्धः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sūtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तरि is a compound word formed by the negative नञ्. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kāraka which is not an agent-kāraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called पर्युदात्त, points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kāraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used, indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pāṇini:—That नञ् is compounded even with the force of प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). अशित्, *non-sit*'.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (भाव)' and 'a kāraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2. 6 about नञ् Compound.

परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाण-आख्या-
याम्, सर्वेभ्यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दारनारो कर्तरि णिन्नुक् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghan' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि + चि + घञ् = निचै + अ (VII. 2. 115) = निचाय (VI. 1. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः; द्वौ शूर्पनिष्पयौ। कृ 'to scatter' + घञ् = कारः। द्वौ कारौ; त्रयः काराः।

By using the word 'all' in the sūtra, it is indicated that the affix अच् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अच् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhāṣa*:—"Aparāḍas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *apavāda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अच् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अच् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निश्चयः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्यः has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (रूढि). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prastha*, *Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sūtra is to indicate that the affix घञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अच् or अच् by sūtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use घञ्; we must use the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by घञ् when it supersedes अच् and अच्. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकातिनोच्छिन्तिः, द्वे प्रसूती &c.

Vart:—The affix घञ् comes after the causative verbs दारि and जारि, and there is *luk* elision of the causative affix णिच्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus दारयन्ति भ्रातृन् = दाराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति = जाराः 'a paramour',

इङञ्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङः, च, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपाशने स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा ङीप् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृ वायुवर्णनिवृत्तेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'in' (to study).

This debars भञ् (III. 3. 56). As भधि+इ+घञ् = भधि+हे+भ = अभ्याय 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यायः (उपेत्यासादधीते) 'a teacher'.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इङ् as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix ङीप्. As उपेत्याधीयते ङस्या = उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

Vart.—The affix घञ् comes after the root गृ, when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As शारः 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाकृत-नीशारः प्रावेण शिशिरे कुरः ।

उपसर्गे रुचः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, रुचः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदे रीतेर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'rû' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars अप् (III. 3. 57). As संरावः 'clamour', उपरावः &c.

Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रुचः 'sound'.

समि युद्बुदुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, यु-द्रु-दुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समि उपपदे यु द्रु दु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयावः, संद्रावः, संदुवः। But प्रयवः where the preposition is not sam.

श्रिणीभुवोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रि-णी-भुवः, अनुपसर्गे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि णी भू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'sri' (to go to) 'ñi' (to lead) and 'bhû' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix अञ् (III. 3. 56). As श्रायः 'shelter', नायः 'a means', भावः 'a condition'.

But with upasargas, we have प्रश्रयः 'respect', प्रणयः 'love'; प्रभवः 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावो राज्ञः 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू+घञ्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of samāsa, meaning 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form नय in नयो रातः? Here the root नृ has taken the affix भञ् diversely by III. 3. 113.

वौ क्षुश्रुवः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौ, क्षु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वायुपपदे क्षु श्रु इत्येताभ्यां धातुभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debarb the affix भञ् (III. 3. 57); as, विज्ञावः 'cough'; विश्रावः 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have ज्ञवः and श्रवः ।

अवोदोर्नियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-उदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् इत्येतयोर्धपपदयोर्नयतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'nī' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition.

As अवनायः 'throwing down'; उन्नयः 'elevation'.

How do you explain उन्नयः in उन्नयः वसार्थानाम्? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

प्रे द्रुस्तुस्रुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्रु-स्तु-स्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेगञ् उपपदे द्रु स्तु स्रु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'sru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रद्रावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रज्ञावः । But not so in द्रवः, स्तवः and स्रवः ।

निरभ्योः पूखोः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्-अभ्योः, पू-खोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्भिपूर्वयोः पूखोर्धतोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pū' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word पू refers to both पूङ् and पूञ्. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर् comes before पू, and अभि before लू । As निष्पावः 'winnowing'; अभिज्ञावः 'moving'. But पवः and जवः, without these prepositions.

उन्न्योः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्योः, यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उन्न्योर्धपपदयोः गृत्वेनस्माद्भातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grī' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb गृ here refers to both the verbs गृ 'to make sound', and गृ 'to swallow'. As उद्गारः समुद्रस्य 'the roaring of the sea'; निगारो वेदन्तस्य 'the swallow-

ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः ।

कृ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, धान्ये, (घञ्, उन्व्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ इत्येतस्माद्गतोरुन्व्योरुपपदयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति धान्यविषयश्चेद्वास्वयौ भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'kṛi', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कृ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'; निकारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैक्ष्योत्करः 'a heap of alms', पुष्पनिकरः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यज्ञे समि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, समि, स्तुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञविषये प्रयोगे संपूर्णस्तौतेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावश्छन्दोगानाम् 'the Sanstāva of the Chhandogas; संस्ताव(= समेत्य स्तुवन्ति यस्मिन् देशे छंदोगाः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brāhmaṇas repeating hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice'.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवश्छात्रयोः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

प्रे स्त्रोऽयज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, स्त्रः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रञ् आच्छादने अस्माद्गतोः प्रशब्दउपपदे घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, न चेत्यज्ञविषयः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'strī' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice.

As, शंखप्रस्तारः 'a bed of conch'; मणिप्रस्तारः 'strewing of gems'.

प्रथने वावशब्दे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथने, वौ, अशब्दे, (स्त्रः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रञ् आच्छादने अस्माद्गतोर्विशब्दउपपदे घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रथने गम्यमाने तच्चैव प्रथनं शब्दविषयं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'strī' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word *प्रयत्न* means 'extent, circuit, range'. As *पटस्य विस्तारः* 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, *दण्विस्तारः* 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe *विस्तरो वचसाद्* 'prolixity of words'.

छंदो नाम्नि च ॥ ३४ ॥ छंदः, नाम्नि, च, (वौ, स्त्रः, घ०)

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात्स्त्रणात्तेरुच्छन्दोनाम्नि घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghan' comes after 'stri' with the upasarga 'vi', when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word *छन्द* here means prosodial metre such as *Gâyatri* &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word *नाम्* would not have been used. Thus *वि+स्त्र+घञ्=वि+स्त्र+घञ्* (VIII. 3. 94)=*विष्टारः* 'the name of a metre called *Viṣṭâra-Pankti*'.

The whole word *विष्टारपङ्क्ति* is the name of a metre, and is not a word *ending* with the affix *ghan*; only a member of this word, *i. e.* the first part ends with *ghan*. The seventh case-affix in the word *छन्दोनाम्नि* has the force of location *i. e.* when the word so formed occurs *in* a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the *full* name, but it is *in* the name *i. e.* forms a portion of the name.

उदि ग्रहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, ग्रहः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्युपपदे ग्रहेर्होतोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि निपूर्वादिष्यते सुगुणमननिपातनयोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghan' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix *अप्*. As *उद्ग्रहः* 'lifting up'.

Vart:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word *ग्रह* is preceded by *नि*; and the *ह* is changed into *भ*; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, *उद्ग्रामं च निग्रामं च मन्त्रवेदा भवीषधन्* ।

समि मुष्टौ ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, मुष्टौ, (ग्रहः, घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भ्युपपदे ग्रहेर्होतोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति मुष्टिविषयश्चेद्भाष्येण भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word *मुष्टि* means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, *अहो मल्लस्य संग्रहः* 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; *अहो मुष्टिकस्य संग्रहः* 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe *संग्रहो धान्यस्य* 'a collection of grain'.

परिन्योनीषोद्युताधेययोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-न्योः, नी-इषोः,
द्युत-अधेययोः, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिण्ये निशब्दे चोपपदे यथासंख्यं निय इणश्च धातोर्धञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, अचो-
पवादः, द्युताधेययोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'ni' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs परि+नी and नि+इ take चञ् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिण्येन शारान् हन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिण्य=समन्तान्नय means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि+इ+चञ्=नि+हे+भ=नि+आय=न्यायः 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिण्यः 'marriage', and न्ययः 'decay'; as न्ययङ्गतः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अवेप means पदार्थानामनपचारो यथाभासकरणम् ।

परावतुपात्यय इणः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, अनुपात्यये, इणः, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिण्य उपपदे इणो धातोर्धञ्प्रत्ययो भवति अनुपात्यये गम्यमाने ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As पर्यायः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्यायः 'thy turn'; मम पर्यायः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालस्य पर्ययः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्ययः=क्रमप्राप्तस्यानतिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

व्युपयोः श्लेतेः पर्याये ॥३९॥ पदानि ॥ वि-उपयोः, श्लेतेः, पर्याये, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि उप इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः श्लेतेर्धातोर्धञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'śi' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विश्रायः 'thy turn of sleeping' (i. e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विश्रायः 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोपश्रायः=तव राजानम् पशयितुम्पर्यायः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपश्रायः 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विश्रायः 'doubt'.

हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तादाने, चेः, अस्तेये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तादाने गम्यमाने चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, न चैत् स्तेयं चौर्यं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उच्चयस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पप्रचायः 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलप्रचायः 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षाग्रस्थानां फलानां यष्ट्या प्रचयं करोति 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पप्रचयश्चौर्येण 'the gathering of flowers by theft'.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उच्चयः 'gathering'; as पुष्परोचयः 'gathering of flowers by hand'.

निवासचितिशरीरोपसमाधानेष्वदेश्च कः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-
वास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेः, च, कः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधान, एतेष्वर्षेषु चिनोतेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोरारब्ध
ककार अदेशो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', 'the body' and 'collection'.

That in which people dwell (निवसति) is called निवासः or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (चीयते) is called चिति or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निवासः 'a dwelling'; as in काशीनिवासः 'Kāśī-dwelling'; आकायमग्निं विन्वीत 'let him arrange the ākāya fire i. e. the funeral fire'; कायः 'body'; as अनित्यः कायः 'a perishable body'; महान् गोमयनिकायः 'a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe चयः 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महान् काष्ठनिचयः 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

संघे चानौत्तराधर्ग्ये ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघे, च, अनौत्तराधर्ग्ये,
(चेः, आदेश, कः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघे वाच्ये चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति आदेश कः ॥

42. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word संघ means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts :—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by *paryuddsa* negation the other is taken. Thus भिक्षु-निकायः 'the assembly of beggars'; ब्राह्मणनिकायः 'the assembly of Brāhmaṇas'; वैयाकरणनिकायः 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But सूकरनिघ्नः 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection. So also कृताकृतसमुच्चयः 'the collection of what is done and not done'; प्रमाणसमुच्चयः 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no संघ in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix *ghañ* is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे णच् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहारे,
णच्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे गम्यमाने धातोर्णचुप्रत्ययो भवति स्त्रीजिङ्गे वाच्ये ॥

43. The affix 'nach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word कर्म means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case. व्यतिहार means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (भाव) also. The anubandha च in णच् is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in sūtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus वि + अव + क्लृप् + णच् + भञ् + ङीप् = व्यावक्रोशी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also व्यावहाती, व्यावजेखी. The affix णच् forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix भञ् by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix ङीप् of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe व्यतिपाको दर्शते ।

The making of this a separate sūtra by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with क्तिन् (III. 3. 94) is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with क्तिन् &c, then the affixes that would have debarred क्तिन् &c, would *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar क्तिन् &c, do not debar this. Thus व्यावचोरी, व्यावचर्ची । Here चुर being a यन्त class root would have taken चुच् (III. 3. 107) in the femi-

nine, as चोरणा; and चर्च् would have taken अह् by III. 3. 104, as चर्चा. The roots ईश् and ईह्, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take अ by debarring क्तिन्। This debarring affix अ, however, is not debarred by this rule; as व्यतीक्षा, व्यतीहा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यतीक्षी &c. The form व्यानुक्षी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुलं taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधौ भाव इनुण् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिविधौ, भावे, इनुण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधौ गम्यमाने धातोर्भावे इनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'inun' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus संरात्रिणम् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं + कूट् + इन् + अण् (V. 4. 15. and VI 4. 164) = संकूटिनम् 'a general confusion'; so संस्रादिणम् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संकोटः, संरात्रः, संस्रावः ।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti was already flowing from sūtra III. 3. 18? The object is that the वासक्य rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence चञ् never comes in this sense. Pātanjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क्त &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes क्त &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव ।

The separateness of this sūtra is for the same purpose as the last aphorism. The affix ल्युट् is not, however, prohibited; as संकूटिनम्. See rule कृत्यल्युटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुण् (the operative part being इन्) forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix अण् by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशेऽवन्योर्ग्रहः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, अवन्योः, ग्रहः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र नि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्ग्रहार्थान्तोर्ग्रहप्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ni'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुण् is immediately, near, we take the anuvṛitti of चञ् (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvṛitti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवमाहो हन्त ते वृषन्भूयात् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निमाहस्ते भूयात् ।

Why 'when meaning cursing'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य; निग्रहश्चोरस्य ।

प्रे लिप्सायाम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लिप्सायाम्, (ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्धर्तोर्यञ्प्रत्ययो भवति लिप्तायाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

46. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As पात्रप्रवाहेण चरति भिक्षुः पिण्डार्थी 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; लुवप्रवाहेण चरति द्विजो दक्षिणार्थी 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brāhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word लिप्ता means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe प्रपशो देवदत्तस्य ।

परौ यज्ञे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, यज्ञे, (ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्धर्तोर्यञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरपरिमाहः 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; अधर-परिमाहः 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिमहः देवदत्तस्य 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

नौ वृ धान्ये ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, वृ, धान्ये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्दउपपदे वृ इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्धान्यविशेषेऽभिधेये घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'vri' preceded by 'ni'; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृह् and वृज्. This debars the affix भप्. As नीकाराः 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निवरा कन्या 'a virgin girl'.

उदि अयतियौतिपूद्वः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, अयति-यौति-पू-द्वः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छब्दउपपदे अयत्यादिभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verbs 'śri', 'yu', 'pû' and 'dru', when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix *ach* (III. 3. 56). Thus उच्छ्रायः 'rising of a planet'; उद्यावः 'mixing'; उत्पावः 'purifying ghee'; and उद्रावः 'flight'.

How do you explain the form समुच्छ्रयः in पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः? The word विभाव 'optionally' in the next sūtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called *सिंहायलोकनन्यायः* 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विभाषा ऽङ्ङि रूप्लुवोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आङ्ङि, रूप्लुवोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्ङि उपपदे रौतेः द्ववत्तेष्व विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'ân' is in composition.

As आरावः or आरवः 'noise'; आश्रावः or आश्रवः 'bathing'.

अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, ग्रहः, वर्ष-प्रति-बन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्षञ्प्रत्ययो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिबन्धेऽभिधेये ॥

51. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिबन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived ; as अवसाहः or अवग्रहो देवस्य 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ।

प्रे वणिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ प्रे, वणिजाम्, (विभाषा, ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तवाच्यश्चेत् वणिजां सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words *grah* and *vibhāṣhā* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलाग्रग्रहः or तुलाग्रग्रहः, as तुलाग्रग्रहेण चरति or तुलाग्रग्रहेण चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe ग्रग्रहो देवदत्तस्य 'the whip of Devadatta'.

रश्मौ च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रश्मौ, च, (ग्रहः, विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति रश्मिश्चेत्प्रत्ययान्तेनाभिधीयते ॥

53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रश्मि means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control ; as प्रग्रहः or प्रगाहः 'a rein'.

वृणोतेराच्छादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृणोतेः, आच्छादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रग्रहउपपदे वृणोतेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तं चेदाच्छादनविशेष उच्यते ॥

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vri' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः 'a cloak, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering' ? Observe प्रवरगौ ।

परौ भुवो ज्वहाने ॥ ५५ ॥ परौ, भुवः, अवहाने, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिग्रहउपपदे विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति अवहाने गम्यमाने ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhū', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word अवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिभावः or परिभवः 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard' ? The word परिभवः may be then construed to mean सर्वतोभवनं=परिभवः 'surrounding'.

एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तरि, संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्भावे अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायामच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

दार्शनिकम् ॥ अडिग्धौ भयदिनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवस्यौ ह्रन्वसि वक्तव्यौ ॥

56. The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'ī' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sūtras 18 and 19 : and these words are to be supplied in every subsequent sūtra as far as sūtra 113 of this chapter. This debars घञ्. The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चयः 'collecting' ; अयः 'going' ; जयः 'victory' ; क्षयः 'wasting'.

Vart.—In this connection the words भय &c. should also be enumerated. As भी + भय् = भयम् 'fear'; वर्यम् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क् &c. but for this Vārtika.

Vart.—The words जव and सव are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As ऊर्वोरिस्तु मे जवः, पंचादनसवः। These roots जु and सु would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

ऋदोरप् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-ओः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्य उवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'ri', short 'u', or long 'ū', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars घञ्. The प् is indicatory for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, वृ + अप् = करः 'scattering'; गृ + गरः 'beverage, poison'; शृ + शरः 'arrow'; यु + यवः 'barley'; लृ + लवः 'reaping'; पू + पवः 'winnowing corn'.

The इ in ऋद् is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not त् changed into इ; for then by the rule "that which follows त् is also called तपर" short उ only would have been taken and not long ऊ (I. 1. 70).

ग्रहवृद्धनिश्चिगमश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रह-वृ-ट्-निश्चि-गमः, च,

(अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो ऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वशिरप्योऽपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घञर्थे कविधानं स्थास्नापाव्यधिहिनियुध्यर्थम् ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grah', 'vri', 'dri', 'niśchi' and 'gam'.

This debars घञ्; and in the case of निश्चि the affix भञ् is debarred. As ग्रहः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; हरः 'tearing, a cave'; निश्चयः 'certainty'; गमः 'march'.

The verb निश्चि would have taken भञ्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots वृद् and रण् should also be included in this; as वशः 'obedient'; रणः 'battle'.

Vart.—When the sense is that of घञ्, the affix क् is directed to be employed, after the following verbs:—स्था, स्ना, पा, व्यध्, हन् and युध्। As प्रस्थः 'a table-land' (on which they move); प्रस्नः 'a vessel for bathing' (in which they bathe); प्रपाः 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they drink); आविधः (VI. 1. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they pierce); विस्रः 'an obstacle' (in which they are obstructed); आयुधः 'battle' (where they fight).

उपसर्गेऽदः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, अदः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदेऽवर्धात्तोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विषसः (II. 4. 38) 'half-chewed morsel'; प्रघसः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe घासः 'grass'; अद्+घञ्=घस्+अ (II. 4. 38).

नौ या च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, या, च, (अद्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्द उपपदे भवेर्धातोर्णःप्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद् च ॥

60. And the affix 'na' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि+अद्+ण=नि+आद्+अ=न्याद् (VII. 2. 116) 'feeding'; नि+अद्+अप्=नि+घस्+अ (II. 4. 38)=निघसः 'eating, food'.

व्यधजपोरनुपसर्गे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतयोरनुपसर्गयोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars वञ्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe आध्याया, उपजाया ।

स्वनहसोर्वा ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसोः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसोरनुपसर्गयोर्वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or स्वानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; प्रस्वानः 'a loud noise'; प्रहासः 'a loud laughter'.

यमः समुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, सम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गे, वा, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उप नि वि इत्येतेषूपपदेषु अनुपसर्गेऽपि यमेर्वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam', when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa', 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars चञ्. As संयामः or संयमः 'restraint'; उपयामः or उपयमः 'marriage'; नियामः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; वियाम. or वियमः 'check, distress'; यामः or यमः ।

नौ गदनदपठस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, गद-नद-पठ-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगाद् उपपदे गद् नद् पठ स्वन इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'path' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars चम्. Thus निगाद्: or निगाद्: 'recitation'; निनद्: or निनद्: 'noise'; निपठ: or निपठ: 'reading'; निस्वन: or निस्वन: 'a noise'.

क्वणो वीणायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वणः, वीणायाम्, च, (नै, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्वणतेर्धातोर्निपूर्वादनूपसर्गाच्च वीणायां वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvan' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix चम्. Thus निक्वणः or निक्वणः 'a musical tone'. क्वणः or क्वणः 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि; as कल्याणप्रकणं वीणा.

But not so here, अतिक्रान्ते वर्तते, where the upasarga being अति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, क्वण् takes अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

नित्यं पणः परिमाणे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पणः, परिमाणे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पण व्यवहारे स्तुतो च, अस्माद्धातोर्नित्यमप्प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'pan' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word नित्यं 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word optionally. Thus मूलकपणः 'a handful of radishes'; शाकपणः 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पाणः 'trade'.

मदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मदेर्धातोर्ननुपसर्गादप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars घञ्. As विद्यामद्: 'pride of knowledge'; धनमद्: 'pride of wealth'; कुलमद्: 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्माद्: 'mad'; प्रमाद्: 'error or carelessness'.

प्रमदसम्मदौ हर्षे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदौ, हर्षे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद सम्मद इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते हर्षेऽभिधेये ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and 'sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कन्यानां प्रमदः 'the joy of girls'; कोकिलानां समदः 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'.

Why do we say 'when meaning delight'? Observe प्रमाद्: 'carelessness'; संमाद्: 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb *mad* preceded by *pra* and *sam* takes the affix *ap*' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sūtra to indicate that these words are कृते in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरपरश्चोरजतेर्द्धातोः पशुविषये धात्वयंऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars घञ्. The root अज् 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सम्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत् it means 'driving'. As समजः पशूनां 'a herd of cattle'; उदजः पशूनां 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle? Observe समाजो ग्राहणानां, उदजः क्षत्रियाणां ।

अक्षेप् ग्लहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षेप्, ग्लहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लह इति निपात्यते अक्षविषयेऽद्धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root गृह्. The verb गृह् takes the affix अप् and thus forms ग्रह्; and then irregularly र is changed into ल; as अक्षस्य ग्लहः 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when referring to gambling'? Observe गृहः पादस्त्रम् ।

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लह् 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring घञ्. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्लह् to explain the form ग्लहः । The counter-example which they would give, is ग्लाहः 'receiving', formed by adding the affix घञ् ।

प्रजने सर्त्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सर्त्तः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्त्तर्थातोः प्रजने विषयं अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars घञ्. The word प्रजनं means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवामुपसरः 'impregnation of cows'; वसूनामुपसरः 'impregnation of cattle'.

ह्वः संप्रसारणं च न्यभ्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप वि इत्येतेषु उपसर्गेषु ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars घञ्. As नि + ह्वे + अप् = नि + हु + अ (VI. 1. 108) = नि + हो + अ (VII. 3. 84) = निह्व (VI. 1. 78) 'invocation'; अभिह्वः 'invocation'; उपह्वः 'invitation'; विह्वः 'calling'. But प्रह्वयः 'a summons'.

आङि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, युद्धे, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणं, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् उपसर्गे ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप्प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽभिधेये ॥

73. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'âñ', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आह्वः 'battle' (where they challenge each other). But otherwise आह्वयः 'calling'.

निपानमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपानम्, आहावः, (आङि, ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आह्पूर्वस्य ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप्प्रत्ययो वृद्धिश्च निपात्यते निपानं चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

74. The word 'âhâva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from ह्वे by the prefix आ, then samprasârana, and the vridhhi of the vowel. Thus आ + ह्वे + अप् = आहु + अ = आहो + अ = आहावः 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise आह्वयः 'calling'. Even in the word आहावः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (ह्यः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गस्य ह्यदत्तैः संप्रसारणमप्यस्ययो भवति भावेऽभिधेये ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As हवः 'calling'; हवे हवे सुहवं गुरुमिन्द्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it? Observe आह्वयः । Though the anuvṛitti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from sūtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛitti of sūtra 19, which was running, must not be taken; so that this word applies to agent-kāraka also.

हनश्च वधः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वधः, (भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्द्धातोऽनुपसर्गस्य भावे अप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्संनियोगेन च वधादेशः, सचान्तोदात्तः ॥

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'han' before this affix.

Thus वध has udātta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudātta generally (III. 1. 4) thus becomes udātta.

As वधश्चोराणाम् 'the killing of thieves'; वधोदस्यूनाम् 'the killing of robbers'.

When action is not denoted, the affix चञ् applies; as घातः 'a blow'.

So also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as प्रघातः, घातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect हन् with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix चञ् also; as घातः 'killing'.

मूर्त्तौ घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूर्त्तौ, घनः, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्त्ताविभिधेयायां हन्तेरप्यप्रत्ययो भवति, पञ्चादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word मूर्त्ति means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अभ्रघनः 'a mass of cloud'; दधिघनः 'solid curd'. How do we say घनं दधि? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अन्तर्घनो देशे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, घनः, देशे, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःपूर्वाद्धन्तेरप्यप्रत्ययो भवति घनादेशश्च भवति देशेऽभिधेये ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'anta' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर + हन् + अप् = अन्तर = घन् + भ = अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Bahika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ण as अन्तर्घणः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे, प्रघणः, प्रघाणः, च, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्तेः प्रघण प्रघाण इत्येतौ शुद्धौ निपात्यते अगारैकदेशे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words 'praghana' and 'praghâna' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from हन् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः ।

उद्घनोत्पाधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घनः, अत्पाधानम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेरुद्घन इति निपात्यते उत्पाधानं चेद् भवति ॥

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उत् + हन् irregularly. Thus उद्घनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उद्घातः 'uneven'.

अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपघन इति निपात्यते, अङ्गं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप + हन्. Thus अपघनः 'a limb or member of the body'. The word अङ्गम् means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघातः ।

करणेऽयोचिद्रुषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-वि-द्रुषु, (हनः, अप्, घनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस् वि द्रु इत्येतेषूपपत्तेषु हन्तेर्धातोः करणे कारकोऽप्यस्ययो भवति, घनादेशश्च ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As **भयोघनः** 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); **विघनः** 'a mallet'; **द्रुघनः** 'an axe'. Some write **द्रुघणः**, the **न** being changed into **ण** either by rule VIII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of **आरोहणादि** (IV. 2. 80).

स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बशब्द उपपदे करणे कारके हन्ते: कः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word **च** in the sūtra draws in **अप्** from the last aphorism and in that case **घन्** replaces **हन्**. Thus **स्तम्बघ्नः** or **स्तम्बघनः** 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are **स्तम्बघ्ना** as well as **स्तम्बघना**. When **क** is added, we have **स्तम्बघ्नः**. Thus **हन् + क = हन् + अ** (VI. 4. 98) = **घ्न** (VII. 3. 54). When **अप्** is added, **हन्** is totally replaced by **घन्**. When instrument is not meant, we have **स्तम्बघातः**.

परौ घः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, घः, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे हन्तेर्दातोर्प्रत्ययो भवति करणेकारके घशब्दश्चादेव ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus **परिघः** or **पलिघः** (VIII. 2. 22) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

उपघ्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपघ्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वस्य हन्तेर्प्रत्यय उपधालोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding **अप्** (III. 3. 76) to the verb **हन्** preceded by the upasarga **उप**, then eliding the penultimate **अ** of **इ**; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules **हन्** is changed into **घन्**. This form would have been given by the affix **क** also, without any irregularity.

The word **आश्रय** refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus **पर्वतोपघ्नः** 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also **ग्रामोपघ्नः** 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe **पर्वतोपघातः** !

संघोद्घौ गणप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्घौ, गण-प्र-
शंसयोः, (अप्, घट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगुहोरूपपदयोर्हन्तेर्द्वातोरप्प्रत्ययटिलोपो घट् च निपात्यते, यथासंख्यं गणोऽभिधेये
प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The words 'saṅgha' and 'udgha' are irre-
regularly formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a
praise' respectively.

These words are thus formed; सम् + हन् + अप् = सं + ह् + अ = सं + घ् + अ = संघः ।
Thus संघः पशूनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्घे मनुष्यः 'an excellent man'.
The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these
senses, we have संघातः 'union'.

निघो निमित्तम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निघः, निमित्तम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघ इति निपूर्वाद्दन्तैरप्प्रत्ययटिलोपो घट् च निपात्यते निमित्तं चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in
the sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित्त means 'measured all round' i. e. 'as high as broad'.
As निघा वृक्षाः 'trees as high as broad'. निघा शालयः 'square or cubic or circular
halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निघातः 'a blow'.
The word निमित्त = समन्तान्मितं, समारोहपरिणाहम् । It may be derived from मा or from
मि । In the first case it will mean 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'.
Professor Bothlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning
of this word.

ड्वितः क्त्रिः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ डु-इतः, क्त्रिः, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डु इत्यस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोः क्त्रिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktri' comes after the verb which
has an indicative 'du', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense
is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name
is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the pre-
vious aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix क्त्रि, मप् is always the aug-
ment) we must add म, for we can not use the affix क्त्रि alone; but we must al-
ways use निम. Thus डुपचप् 'to cook'—पक्त्रिन् 'what is ripe'; डुवप्—उपक्त्रिन् 'sown'
(VI. 1. 15); डुकृप्—कृत्रिन् 'artificial'.

द्वितोऽयुच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ डु-इतः, अयुच्, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डु इत्यस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोरयुच् प्रत्ययो भवति भावाद् ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'tu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As टुवेपु—वेपथुः 'a trembling'; टुभोन्धि—भयथुः 'swelling'; टुभु—स्रवथुः 'sneezing'; टुदु—द्वयथुः 'burning'.

यजयाचयतविच्छप्रच्छरक्षो नङ् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत-विच्छ-प्रच्छ-रक्षः, नङ्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो नङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yâch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchh' (to shine), 'prachchh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nan' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sūtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The नङ् of नङ् is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vṛiddhi (I. 1. 5); as यज्ञः 'sacrifice'; याचन्ना 'solicitation'; यत्नः 'effort'; विमः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रश्नः 'a question'; रक्षणः 'protection'.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into क् before the क्ति affix नङ्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini, as we know from the fact that Pāṇini himself uses the form प्रश्नः in III. 2. 117.

स्वपो नन् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेर्धातोर्नन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final न् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as स्वप्नः 'a dream'.

उपसर्गे घोः किः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, घोः, किः, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicatory, by force of which the final आ is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प्र+ता+कि=प्रतिः 'a present'; प्रधिः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपाधिः 'fraud'; अन्तर्हिः 'vanishing'.

कर्मण्यधिकरणे च ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अधिकरणे, च, (घोः, भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिः प्रत्ययो भवति, अधिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जनधिः 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधिः 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix क्ति from the last sūtra.

स्त्रियां क्तिन् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्, (भावे, अकतंरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावाद्दौ धातोः क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्तिन्नावादिभ्यश्च यक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भुयजिस्तुभ्यः करणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ग्लान्नाड्याहाभ्यो निः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृकारल्वादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावङ्गवति इति यक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सम्पदादिभ्यः क्तिप् ॥

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'ktin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes घञ्, अञ् and भञ् affixes. Thus कृतिः 'action'; चित्तिः 'a gathering'; मतिः 'understanding'.

Vart.—The affix *ktin* should be declared to come after the verbs आप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus भातिः 'getting'; राद्धिः 'accomplishment'; शितिः 'shining'; स्रितिः 'a slip'; ध्वस्तिः 'destruction'; लब्धिः 'gain'.

Vart.—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', यज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुतिः 'ear' (that by which we hear); so इष्टिः 'a sacrifice'; स्तुतिः 'a praise'.

Vart.—The affix नि comes after the verbs ग्ले 'to be exhausted', ग्ले 'to fade', ड्या 'to grow old' and हा 'to leave'; as ग्लानिः 'exhaustion'; ग्लानिः 'fading', ह्यानिः 'old age'; हानिः 'loss'.

Vart.—The affix क्तिन् coming after verbs ending in long कृ and the verbs लृ &c. is like a Nishṭhā. Thus कीर्त्तिः 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: कृ + क्तिन् = कि + ति (VII. 1. 100) = किर् + ति (I. 1. 51) = कीर् + ति (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, त् is changed into न् by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhā (VIII. 2. 42), and this न् is changed into ण् by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also गीर्णिः 'praise'; जीर्णिः 'old age'; शीर्णिः 'drying'; कृन् (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; यूनः 'joining'; धूनः 'agitation'; पूनः 'destruction'.

Vari.—The affix क्तिप् comes after the verbs संपत् &c; as संपत् 'prosperity'; विपत् 'a calamity'; प्रतिपत् 'access'. The affix क्तिन् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः. The verbs कृन् &c. are 21 verbs of kṛyādi class.

स्थागापापचो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-गा-पा-पचः, भावे,
(स्त्रियां, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रीनिङ्गो भावे क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthā' (to stand), 'gā' (to sing) 'pā' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'kṭin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes क्तिन् in cases of compound verbs ending in long आ. Thus प्रस्थितिः 'a journey' (VII 4. 40); उद्गीति 'a singing aloud'; गै + क्ति = गा + ति (VI. 1. 45) = गी + ति (VI. 4. 66); संगीतिः 'a concert'; प्रपीतिः 'a cistern'; संपीतिः 'drinking together'; पक्तिः 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like भवस्था and संस्था? Pāṇini himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like व्यवस्था &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like भवस्था, संस्था &c. by applying the affix अङ् under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply क्तिन् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेपचमनविद्भूवीरा उदात्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे,
वृष-वृष-पच-मन-विद्-भू-वी-रा, उदात्तः, (भावे, स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषये वृषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः ॥

96. In Mantra literature, 'kṭin' acutely accentuated comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action :—'vrish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhū' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'rā' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृष्टिः 'raining'; इष्टिः 'wishing'; पक्तिः 'cooking'; मतिः 'thinking'; वित्तिः 'knowing'; भूतिः 'being'; रीतिः 'consuming'; रातिः 'giving'.

The affix क्तिन् has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From वृष् we have also an irregular noun वृष्ट्या (III 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II. 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

ऊतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्त्तयश्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊति-
यूति-जूति-साति-हेति-कीर्त्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्थाद्यः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

97. And these words viz. 'ûti' (preserving sport), 'yûti' (joining), 'jûti' (velocity), 'sâti', (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kîrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛitti of the word मञ्जे does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word ऊति is thus formed:—भञ् 'to protect' + क्तिन् = ऊ + ति: (VI. 4. 20) = ऊति:। this form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in वृत्ति: and जूति: consists in the lengthening of उ into ऊ; in साति: the भा of the root सै which becomes सा by VI. 1. 45, is not changed into इ, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सन् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra: thus सन् + क्तिन् = सा + क्तिन् (VI. 4. 42) = साति. The form हेति may be derived either from हन् or हिनोति।

इन्द्र वार्जेषु नोऽव सहस्रप्रधानेषु च । उपपुमान्भिरुक्तिभिः ॥ (Rig. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

व्रजयजोर्भावे क्यप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रज-यजोः, भावे, क्यप्,
(उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रजयजोर्धात्वोः स्त्रिजिगे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus व्रज्या 'wandering about'; इज्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The प् of क्यप् is indicatory, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्यप् having प्, that we add a त् by VI. 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविदपुञ्शीङ्भृजिणः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥
संज्ञायां, समज-निषद-निपत-मन-विद-पुञ्-शीङ्-भृज्-इणः, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्,
उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियां क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an appellative' and is acutely accented viz:—'sam-aj' 'ni-shad', 'ni-pat', 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śīñ', 'bhrifñ' and 'in'.

Thus समज्या 'an assembly'; निपद्या 'a small bed or couch'; निपश्या 'slippery ground'; मन्या 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; सुत्या (VI. 1. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शय्या 'bed'; भृत्या 'wages, service'; इत्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards भृ. By rule III. 1. 112, भृ would have taken क्यप्, and we could have got the form भृत्या by that rule also. But the भृत्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. 1. 112 when it used the words असंज्ञायां, was rather too wide, for क्यप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word असंज्ञायां there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्या meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix एयत् to the exclusion of क्यप्

संज्ञायां पुंस्ति दृष्टत्वा न ते भार्या प्रसिध्यति ।

स्त्रियां भावाधिकारोऽस्ति नैन भार्या प्रसिध्यति ॥

The word भावाधिकारः is explained by the author of Kāśikā as भावव्यापारो, वाच्यत्वेन विवक्षितः, ननु शास्त्रोद्योऽधिकारः ।

कृजः श च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्धातोः स्त्रियां शः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्यप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kṛi' comes the affix 'śa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix क्यप् into this sūtra, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two :—

(1) कृजः 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्तिन्'

(2) श च 'and the affix श as well as क्यप्'. Thus क्रिया, कृत्या (VI. 1. 71) and कृतिः । When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form क्रिय by III. 1. 67.

इच्छा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषेर्धातोः शः प्रत्ययो यागभावश्च निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परिचर्यापरिसर्याश्रुगयाटाटधानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जागर्तेरकारो वा ॥

101. The form 'ichchhâ' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed : इप् + श = इच्छ + अ = इच्छा. The यक् ordained by III 1. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

Vart.—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिसर्या 'perambulation'; परिचर्या 'attendance, service'; शृगया 'hunting'; भ्रष्टाप 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

Vart.—From the root जागृ we have either जागरा or जागर्या 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix अ, the latter by श् which brings in यक् (III. I. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (सित्रयाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. I. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ + सन् = चिकीर्ष् 'to wish to do'; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष्, we add अ. Thus चिकीर्ष् + अ (VI. 4. 48) = चिकीर्ष. Then we add टाप् by IV. I. 4, and get चिकीर्षा 'the desire to do'; so also जिहीर्षा 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; लोन्वया 'much cutting'; कण्डूया 'itch'. The sūtra is also found as अः प्रत्ययात् ।

गुरोश्च हलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, च, हलः, (सित्रयां, अ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ते यो धातुर्गुणान् ततः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodially heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars क्तिन् । Thus कुण्डा 'an adulteress'; हुण्डा 'a tigress'; ईहा 'effort'; उहा 'supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodially heavy vowel'? Observe भक्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity'.

षिद्धिदादिभ्योऽङ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ षित्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः, अङ्, (सित्रयाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षिद्धयो भिदादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियामङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

104. The affix 'añ' comes after those verbs that have an indicative 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जृप् has an indicative ष्, the real root being जृः । From it we have जरा 'old age' (VII. 4. 16); जपुष्—जपा 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of Bhiddādi class we have भिदा 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भित्तिः । So also छिदा 'cutting'; छित्तिः 'cutting'; आरा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; अर्ति: 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; धृति: । The list of *Bhiddi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupāṭha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

निदा, छिदा, विदा, क्षिपा, गुहा (गिर्यापथ्योः), भ्रदा, मेधा, गोधा, भारा, हारा, कारा, क्षिया, भारा, धारा, लेखा, रेखा, चूडा, पीडा, वपा, वसा, मृजा, सृजा, कृपा, (कृपेःसंपसारणं च) ॥

चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-कुम्बि-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूजि कथि कुम्बि चर्च एभ्यो धातुभ्यो युचि प्राप्ते स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'an' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'pūj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च् is to include the affix युच् into this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Churādi* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्त 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्भा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चा 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आतश्चोपसर्गे ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तरोरुपसर्गद्वयः ॥

106. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs which end in long 'ā' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus प्रदा, प्रधा, उपदा, उपधा, &c.

Var.—For the purposes of this rule the particles अत् and अन्तर् should be treated like upasargas. Thus श्रद्धा 'faith' अन्तर्द्धा (I. 4. 59).

ययासश्चन्यो युच् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-आस-अन्यः, युच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आसश्चन्य इत्येतेभ्यो च स्त्रियां युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षट्ठिविधेभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इषेरनिच्छार्थस्य युज्यक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परेर्वा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ni', and after 'āś' (to sit) and 'śranth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. 1. 102). Thus कृ + णिच् = कारि; कारि + युच् = कारणा (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; हारणा 'the causing to

take'; आसना 'the sitting'; अन्धना 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आस्या? It is the feminine of आस्य formed by adding ण्यत् to the root आस् by III. 1. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. 1. 94, which declares that वासस्वरूप rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अस्त्रियाम् in III. 1. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 9), क्यप् (III. 3. 98), अ (III. 3. 102). That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavāda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes *inter se* supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general कृत् affixes". Now by the present sūtra the root आस् takes युच्; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like अ (III. 1. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix ण्यत् ।

The root अन्धि taken here belongs to the *Kryādi* class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the अन्ध of *Churādi* class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the *Churādi* class which class of verbs take the affix णिच् ।

Vart.—The verbs चट् 'to move', वन् 'to praise', and विद् 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking युच्. Thus चट्ना 'shaking', वन्दना 'praising', वेदना 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb चट् here belongs to the *Tudādi* class, and means 'to move' and not चट् of the *Churādi* class, for that is already included by being णिजन्त ।

Vart.—The affix युच् comes after इप् when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus भवेवणा 'solicitation'; अन्वेवणा 'the searching after'.

Vart.—So also optionally when इप् takes the upasarga परि; as, पर्येषणा or परीष्टि: 'investigation by reasoning'.

रोगाख्यायां यवुल्वहलम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आख्यायाम्,
यवुल्, बहलम् (सित्रयाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगाख्यायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्बहुलं यवुज्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धात्वर्थनिर्देशो यवुल्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्षितपौ धातुनिर्देशो इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वणत्कारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ राक्षिः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मत्वर्थच्छः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इञ्जादिभ्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्कुव्यादिभ्यः ॥

108. The affix 'nvul' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, begin the name of 'diseases'.

This debars क्तिन् and all the rest. By using the word आख्या in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual licence in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus प्रच्छदिका (VII. 1. 1) 'vomiting'; प्रवाहिका 'diarrhoea'; विचर्चिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोर्त्तिः 'head-ache'.

Vart.—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, आशिका 'to enjoy', शालिका to 'lie down' &c.

Vart.—The affixes इक् and शित् (that is शप् and तिप्) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as निदिः, छिदिः, पचतिः, पठतिः &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root भि and यु exhibited as भयतिः and यैतिः। These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix कार is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककारः means 'the letter क'; so also अकारः 'the letter अ'; इकारः 'the letter इ'।

Vart.—The affix इक् is employed in pointing out the letter र; as रेक्।

Vart.—The affix छ् comes after the word मत्वर्थ in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final भ; as मत्वर्थीयः।

Vart.—The affix इञ् comes after the verbs भञ् &c; as भाजिः, भातिः, भादिः।

Vart.—The affix इक् comes after the verbs कृप् &c; as, कृषिः, कितिः, &c.

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (गुल्, स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्बुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix 'nvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed'. वरणपुष्प-प्रवाहिका 'a sort of game'; आयुषखादिका; आचोषखादिका; शालभञ्जिका; तालभञ्जिका।

विभाषाख्यानपरिप्रश्नयोरिञ् च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आ-
ख्यान-परिप्रश्नयोः, इञ्, च, (गुल्, स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिप्रश्ने आख्याने च गम्यमाने धातोरिञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. And the affix 'in' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as 'nvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिप्रश्न means 'question' and आख्यान means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound आख्यानपरिप्रश्न may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34.) and hence ākhyāna is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word ण्वुन् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां त्वं कारिमकार्षीः 'What work did you do?' A.—सर्वं कारिमकार्षम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also. Q.—कां कारिकां, कृत्यां, कृतिं, क्रियां, अकार्षीः A.—सर्वं कारिकां or कृत्यां or कृतिं or क्रियां अकार्षम्. Similarly, Q.—कां गणि (गणनां, गणिकां &c.) अजीगणः A.—सर्वंगणि &c. अजीगणम्. So also कां याजिम् or याजिकाम्; कां याचिम् or याचिकां &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer? Observe कृतिः and दृतिः ।

पर्यायार्होत्पत्तिषु ण्वुच् ॥१११॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याय-अर्ह-ऋण-उत्पत्तिषु, ण्वुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेष्वर्थेषु धातोर्ण्वुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'ṇvuch' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अर्ह means worthy of respect; ऋण means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes क्तिन् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शयिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽग्रयासिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिधुभक्षिकाम् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; ओदनभोजिकां 'a meal of rice'; पयःपायिकां 'a drink of milk'. (4) इक्षुभक्षिका मे उपपादि ।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra also; as चिकीर्षोत्पद्यते ।

The forms given by ण्वुन् and ण्वुच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. 1. 193, and VI. 1. 163).

आक्रोशे नञ्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नञि, अनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नञ्युपपदे धातोरनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes क्तिन् &c. Thus अकरणस्ते वृषज भूयात् 'may failure be to thee, O sinner'! तस्याकरणिरेवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अकृतिस्तस्य कटस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नञ् is in composition'? Observe वृत्तिस्ते वृषज भूयात् 'may death be to thee, O sinner' !

कृत्यलुटो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, लुटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया ल्युट् च बहुलमर्थेषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kṛitya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyuṭ', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛitti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kṛitya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kāraka* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं चूर्णम् 'powder for bathing'; दानीयो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brāhmaṇa to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ल्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शालयः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाच्छादनानि वासांसि 'dresses to be worn by the 'king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *kṛit* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus वासभ्याम् द्वियते = वासहारकः । गले चोप्यते = गलेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

नपुंसके भावे क्तः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, क्तः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, हसितम् 'laugh'; जल्पितं 'speech'; शयितं 'sleeping'. So also गतं, सहितं &c.

ल्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. The affix 'lyuṭ' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छात्रस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जल्पनं 'speech'; शयनं 'sleep'; आसनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of *lyuṭ* only runs, and not that of क्त ।

कर्मणि च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्मेणि, च, येन, संस्पर्शात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-सुखम् (नपुंसके, भावे, ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पृश्यमानस्य कर्तुःशरीरसुखमुत्पद्यते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदेधातोर्नपुंसकजिगे भावे ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

116. The affix 'lyut' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates the thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix ल्युट् comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyut* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sūtra, the framing of this sūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a नित्य or invariable compound i. e. a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपपद compound is a नित्य compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus पयः पानसुखं 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; भोजनभोजनं सुखं 'the pleasure of eating rice'.

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe तूजिकाया उत्थानं सुखं 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada तूजिका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe अग्निकुंडर्योपासनं सुखं 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरोः स्नापनं सुखं 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word गुरुः is not the agent, but the object of the verb स्नापयति ।

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe पुत्रस्य परिप्लव्जनं सुखम् 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कटुकानां मर्दनं दुःखम् 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sūtras.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च, (ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणेऽधिकरणे च कारके धातौल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix 'lyut' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus इध्मप्रव्रधनः 'an axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); पलाशशालनः 'palāsa-cutter'; गोदोहनी 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also सक्तुधानी। In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुंसि संज्ञायां चः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाम्, चः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुल्लिङ्गयोः करणाधिकरणयोरभिधेययोर्धातोर्धः प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the 'masculine gender.

The force of the word प्रायेण 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus हन्तच्छदः 'the lip'. छादि 'to cover' + च(VI. 4. 96) = छद lit. 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also उरच्छद 'a breast plate'; चरः। These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus आ+कु+च=आकरः 'a mine', so named because men work (*akurvanti*) in it, आलयः 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe प्रसाधनम् 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut*.

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative? Observe प्रहरणो इण्डः 'the beating stick'.

The indicatory च is merely qualifying; for the application of sūtra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative छादि, when च is added, the long आ is shortened,

गोचरसंचरवहव्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-संचर-वह-व्रज-व्यज-आपण-निगमाः, च (चः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दा घप्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते पूर्वस्मिन्नेवायं ॥

119. And the words 'gochara', 'samchara', 'vaha' 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'āpaṇa' and 'nigama' are anomalous.

These words are irregularly formed by the affix च with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *apavāda* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix घञ् is added. Thus गोचरः 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); संचरः 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); वहः 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); व्रजः 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); व्यजः 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in not replacing the भञ् of व्यञ् (वि + भञ्) by the substitute वी as required by sūtra II. 4. 56; भाषण 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निगमः 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कवः, निकवः 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अवे तृस्त्रोर्घञ् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, तृ-स्त्रोः, घञ्, (करणाधि-
करणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उपपदे तरसेष्ट्यण्तेष धातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'tri' (to cross) and 'stri' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes च । The ञ् is indicatory and causes the vṛddhi of ऋ (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory च् is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus अवतारः 'the descent (or incarnation of a diety); अवस्तारः 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply अवतार also in phrases like अवतारो नद्याः 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatāra* is not an appellative? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛitti of the word प्राय is understood here also; so that these words *avatāra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलश्च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुंसि, संज्ञायां, करणाधि-
करणयोः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्धातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghañ', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च. Thus लेखः 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed); वेदः 'the Veda' (that by which all is known); वेषः 'dress' (that which is entered into); बन्धः 'obstruction'; मार्गः 'a way' (that on which they seek); अपामार्गः 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); रामः 'Rāma' (i. e. in which the devout delight).

अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्याय-
न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यायादयः शब्दा घञन्ता निपात्यन्ते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyāya', 'nyāya', 'udyāva', 'sāmhāra', 'ādhāra' and 'āvāya' are anomalous.

These words are formed by adding the affix घञ् to the exclusion of च which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि+इ+घञ्=अध्यायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी-न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are lead); उत्-यु-उयावः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); सम्-ह-संहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ-धृ-आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ-वि-आवायः=आवयन्ति अस्मिन् ।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, अवहारः ।

उदङ्कोजुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कः, अनुदके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्क इति निपात्यते अनुदक विषयश्चेद् धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

123. The word 'udāṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उत्+अङ्+घञ्=उदङ्कः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix घञ् have come by sūtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water'.

Thus तैल्लोदङ्कः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदकोदञ्जनः 'a bucket for drawing water' (उद्+अङ्+च+ल्युट्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix च to the root उदञ्च्? Because the form evolved by applying च, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by घञ्; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 144, the udātta accent, in the case of घञ्, will fall on the final.

जालमानायः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आनायः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय इति निपात्यते जालं चेत्तद्वति ॥

124. The word 'ānāya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+घञ्=आनायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायो मत्स्यानां 'a net for fish'; आनायो मृगण्याम् 'a net for wild deer &c'.

खनी च च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खनः, घ, च, (करणाधिकरणे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनतेर्द्धातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्धःप्रत्ययो भवति, लकाराद् घञ् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इको वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकवको वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).

The affix घञ् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word ख । Thus भाखानः or भाखनः 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix उ also comes in this sense after the verb खन्. Thus भाखन् + उ = भाखः 'a spade'. The indicatory इ showing that the final portion called टि should be elided.

Vart.—The affix उर also comes in the same sense; as भाखरः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So also the affix इक्; as भाखनिकः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix इकवक as भाखनिकवकः 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःसुषु कच्छारुच्छार्येषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-सुषु, कच्छ-अरुच्छ-अर्येषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-सु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्र्येषु धातोः खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'ishad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कृच्छ्र means heavy, and दुर् has the force of conveying that sense. The word अकृच्छ्र means 'light, easy'; and the words ईषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो भवता कटः 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also दुष्करः 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषद्भोजः 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः and सुभोजः ।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c. ? See कृच्छ्रण कार्यः कटः 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light' ? Observe ईषत्कार्ये 'a small work'.

Of the affix खल्, the letter ख and ल् are indicatory ; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मुष् augment, VI. 3. 67) ; and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मुष् will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the ख thus having no work in this sūtra.

कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृजोः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्-कर्मणोः, च, भू-कृजोः, (ईषद्-दुः-सुषु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेः करोतेश्च धातोर्यथासंख्यं कर्तरि कर्मणि चोपपदे चकारादीषद्विषु च खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोश्चयर्थयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhû' and 'kri', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'ishad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषदादय भव 'being enriched easily'; दुरादय भवम् 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वाद्यकरो देवदत्तो भवता 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Var.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix च्च (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here : स्वादेयन भूयते or भादेयन सुभूयते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्, (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कच्छा-
कच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रायेंषु ईषदादिपुपपरेषु आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'â', (when 'ishad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word ईषद् &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words कर्तृ-कर्मण &c. This supersedes the affix खञ्. Thus इषत्पानः सोमो भवता 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुष्पानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be drunk'. इषद्गानो गोर्भवता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुर्गानः, सुगानः &c.

छन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, गति-अर्थेभ्यः,
(ईषद्दुःसुषु, कच्छाकृच्छ्रायेंषु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदादिषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रायेंषुपपरेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विपरे युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'ishad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix खञ्. Thus सुपसदनोऽग्निः । सुपसदनमन्तरिक्षम् । See T.S. 7. 5. 20. I.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(गत्यर्थेभ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्यर्थेभ्यश्छन्दसि विपरे युच् प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां शासिद्युधिदृशिधृमिभ्यो युञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go',

Thus सुवेद नाम कृणोर् ब्रह्मणे गां ; so also सुवेद नाम कृणोर् ब्रह्मणे गां ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

Vart.—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix 'yuch' comes after the verbs शास्, युष्, दृग्, धृष्, and मृष्; as दुःशासनः 'Duhsāsana'; दुर्योधनः 'Duryodhana'; दुर्वर्शनः, दुर्वर्षणः and दुर्वर्षणः ।

वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमान-
सामीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, वा, (भूते, भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्तमानसमीपे भूते भविष्यति च वर्तमानाद्वातोर्वर्तमानवत्पर्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words समीप and सामीप्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix प्यङ्. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pāṇini's using the word सामीप्य, that the affix प्यङ् also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words चालुर्प्यङ् &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sūtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने लट्) and end with III. 3. 1 (उपाद्य बहलं) are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question कदा देवदत्ता गतोसि 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either अद्यमागच्छामि 'I come now', or आगच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि 'know me even to have come'; or अद्यमागमम् 'I have now come'; or एषोऽगतागतः 'I have come now'. So also to the question कदा देवदत्ता गमिष्यसि 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either एष गच्छामि 'I go now' or गच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि or एष गमिष्यामि or गन्तास्मि &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वत्) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (प्रकृति), and words in compositions (उपपद), and restrictive significations (उपाधि), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus शान् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakritis पू and यञ् in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after पू and यञ्, and so on. Thus पवमानः, यजमानः, भजंकरिष्युः (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (सामीप्य)' ? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As पठत् अगच्छत् पाटलिपुत्रम् 'he went day before yesterday to Pataliputra'; वषेण गमिष्यति 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word गच्छामि can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sūtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sūtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit language; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—'Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.

आशंसायां भूतवच्च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम्, भूतवत्, च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातौर्वा भूतवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद् वर्तमानवच्च ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word आशंसा means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of च is to draw the word वर्तमानवत् from the last sūtra in this aphorism. This sūtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (लृट्), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus उग्राध्यायश्चेद्गमत् or आगतः, or आगच्छति or आगमिष्यति वा एते व्याकरणमध्यगीमहि, or अभीतवन्तः or अधीमहे or अध्येष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by लृट् (Aorist); and not by लङ् or लिट्. For लृट् denotes past time in general, while लङ् and लिट् denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवत् making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to लिट् or लङ् which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe आगमिष्यति 'he will come'.

क्षिप्रवचने लृट् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षिप्रवचन उपपदे आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lrit' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future can only be employed. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेत्क्षिप्रमागमिष्यति (or उपाध्यायश्चेत्गतः—*Apte.*) क्षिप्रं व्याकरणमभ्येक्ष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of क्षिप्र also, such as शीघ्रं, आशु, त्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लृट् in the sūtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever *hope* is indicated. Sūtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sūtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus;— न क्षिप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debaring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express *hope*". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, लृट् and लुट्। By specifying लृट् we mean that लुट् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—यः क्षिप्रमभ्येक्ष्यामहे 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशंसा येनोच्यते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *aparāda* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेत्तामसच्छेदं, आशंसे युक्तोऽधीयीष्य 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आशंसे क्षिप्रमधीयीष्य 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, अवकल्पये युक्तोऽधीयीष्य, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न,

अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-सामीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes लङ् (Imperfect Past) and लृट् (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. The word क्रियामबन्धः means 'performing an action with continuity'; and समीप्य means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus यावज्जीवं भृशमन्नमदात् (not अहदात्) 'he gave food throughout his life'; or भृशमन्नं दास्यति 'he will give much food'. यावज्जीवं पुनोऽध्यापित् 'throughout his life he taught', or यावज्जीवमध्यापयिष्यति 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus देवं पूर्णमास्यतिक्रान्ता, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोग्नीनाधित or सोमेनायष्ट or गामदित 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. येनमावास्याऽगामिनी, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोग्नीनाधायते or सोमेन यज्यते, or स गां दास्यते 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire-sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनद्यतन 'not non-today' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

भविष्यति मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (नानद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविभागेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नानद्यतनवत् is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus योऽयमध्यागतस्तत्र आपाट्जिपुत्रास्तत्र यद्वरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रोदनं भोक्ष्यामहे, तत्र सक्तुन्पास्यामः 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe योऽयमध्यागत आपाट्जिपुत्रात् तत्र यद्वरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्र युक्ता भक्ष्यामहे 'on [this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe योऽयमध्यागिरवधिक

गन्तव्यस्तस्य यद्वरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे, सक्तुन् पातास्मः । Here the First Future is employed.

Why do we say 'when the word अवर is in construction'? Observe योऽयमःशाम्ब्यास्तत्रोदनं तस्य यत्परं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

कालविभागे चानहोरात्राणाम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे,
च, न-अहः-रात्राणाम्, (भविष्यति, मर्यादायचने, अवरस्मिन्, च, अनद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सखवरस्मिन्विभागे भविष्यति कालेऽनद्यतनवत् प्राययविधिर्न भवति, न वेराहोरात्रसम्बन्धी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137. The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of *space* and *time*, while sūtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of *time* only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The *yoga-vibhāga*, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तत्र यद्वरमामहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येष्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; तत्रोदनं भोक्ष्यामहे 'we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽयं वत्सरोऽतीतरतस्य यद्वरमामहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येष्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we read together'; तत्रोदनमभुञ्जमहे 'we ate together &c'.

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरवधिकः काल आगामी तस्य यद्वरमा-
महायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे—तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side i. e. अवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽयं मास आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रः or योऽयं त्रिंशद्वात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरोद्धमासः or योऽयं त्रिंशद्द्वयोरात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रस्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे तत्र सक्तुन् पातास्मः । Here Luṭ, or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.

परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भ-
विष्यति, मर्यादावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्राणाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषाऽन्यतमवत्
प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made
with regard to that side of a limit of time.

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sūtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of 'day or night'".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तस्य यत् परमाप्तमासस्तत्र युक्ता भविष्यामहे or भविष्यामहे 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of भयर.

लिङ् निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-
निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुहेतुमत्तोर्निमित्त्येवमादिकं लिङो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ् निमित्तो भविष्यति काले
लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्याम् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Lṛiṅ'
the affix 'Lṛiṅ' is employed in the Future tense when the
non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sūtra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लिङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—*Apte's Guide*.

Thus सुवृष्टिर्भवेदभविष्यत् तदा सुभिक्षमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain, nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, दक्षिणेन चेत्यास्यन्न शक्यं पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आह्रास्यन् न शक्यं

पर्याभवित्यत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be upset'; अभोज्यत भवान् घृतेन यदि मत्सनीपम् आगमिष्यत् 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come).

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka. The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence यदि कमलकम् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sūtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (लिङ्निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काले लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्याम् लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Lin', the affix 'Lrin' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined लृङ् in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ् are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtra III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—दृष्टो मया भवतुषोऽन्तर्ध्वं चङ्क्रम्यमाणः भरतश्च द्विजो ब्राह्मणार्थी, यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोज्यत, न तु भुक्तवान्, अन्येन पथा स गतः। 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत् तदाऽभोज्यत is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

योताप्योः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्निमित्ते, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उताप्योः समर्थयोरिति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मात् सन्नायधेयदित कर्म्ममन्त्रनिष्ठानः, तत्र भूते लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ लृङ् वा भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sūtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liñ', the 'Lrñ may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sūtras to complete the sense. This sūtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उताप्योः (the sūtra III. 3. 152). The words वा+आ+उ form वा by the rules of conjunction. The particle आ in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The *optional* use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: "optionally so, in connection with उत and अपि, the conditional tense may be employed".

गर्हायां लङ्पिजात्योः ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायां, लट्, अपिजात्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हायां गम्यमानायाम् अपिजात्योरुपपद्योर्धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Lat' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words 'api' or jātu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्हा means 'censure, 'blame'. The affix लट् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sūtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयति 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sūdra'; जातु तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयति गर्हामहे, अहो अन्याय्यमेतत् 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sūdra'; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्, of course, we cannot employ लृङ् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also भवि or जातु जायां त्यजति 'Fie! you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife!'

विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथमि, लिङ्, च, (गर्हायां, लट्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथंशब्द उपपदे गर्हायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद्भवे ॥

143. The affix 'Lin' as well as 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लट् from the previous sūtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजयिष्यति 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

So also कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयिता, अयाजयत् or याजयांचकार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लिङ्); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (लृङ्). As कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजम् अयाजयिष्यन् or याजयेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लृङ्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं धर्मम् अस्यजिष्यः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

किंयुक्ते लिङ्लृटौ ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-युक्ते, लिङ्-लृटौ, (गर्हायाम्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे गर्हायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

144. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lrit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ् in this sūtra, is for the sake of excluding लट्, whose anuvṛitti would also have run into this sūtra, had we taken the anuvṛitti of लिङ् from the last sūtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कतरो वा हरिं निन्देत्, निन्दिष्यति वा 'who will censure Hari ?'

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृट्); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम वृषजो यं तत्र भवानयाजयिष्यत् 'who is the Sûdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sûtra may be rendered thus also:—"In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

अनवकृत्यसर्वयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवकृत्ति-अ-
सर्वयोः, अकिंवृत्ते, अपि, (किंवृत्ते, लिङ्लृटौ, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तेऽकिंवृत्ते चोपपत्तेः अनवकृत्यसर्वयोर्धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवकृत्तिः means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word असर्वः means 'not endurable or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवकृत्यसर्वयोः, the word अनवकृत्ति ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word असर्व (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of यथासंख्यं, (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sûtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sûtra.

Thus नायकल्पयामि, न संभावयामि, न श्रद्धे, तत्र भवान् नाम वृषजं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यति 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sûdra'. न मर्षयामि तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यति 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृट्), but necessarily so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नायकल्पयामि तत्र भवान् नाम वृषजम् अयाजयिष्यत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्,
(अनवकृत्यसर्वयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् अनवकृत्यसर्वयोर्धातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lrit' (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words 'kimkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The words within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किंकिल is to be taken as an upapada and not the word कि and किल separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of *asti* are अस्ति; भवति and विद्यते । This rule supersedes the Potential (लिट्). Thus किंकिल or अस्ति or भवति or विद्यते नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयिष्यति, न मर्षयामि, न भ्रष्टे 'Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sûdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it'.

As there is no occasion for लिङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional (लृङ्) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न भ्रष्टे न मर्षये वा किंकिल त्वं शूद्राजम् भोक्ष्यसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sûdra'; अस्ति भवति विद्यते वा शूद्रां गमिष्यसि 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sûdra'.

जातुयदोर्लिङ् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनवकृ-
पत्यमर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातुयदिष्येतयोरुपपदयोरनवकृत्यमर्षयोगम्यमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जातुयदोर्लिङ्दिधाने यदाययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

147. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'jātu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lrit'. जातु तत्र भवान् वृषजम् याजयेत्, or यजाम तत्र भवान् वृषजम् याजयेत्, न भ्रष्टे, न मर्षयामि ।

Vart.—The words यदा and यदि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यत् in this rule. As यदा or यदि वा त्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत्वावकल्पयामि न मर्षयामि 'neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृङ्) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यदा or यदि त्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् or अनिन्दिष्यन् नावकल्पयामि, न मर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. यदि सुरभिः श्यास्तन्मुखोऽहं वासगन्धम् तत्र रति रभविष्यत् पुण्डरीके किमस्मिन् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus'?

यच्चयत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यच्च-यत्रयोः, (अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोः,

लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोरनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोर्गम्यमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus यच्च यत्र या स्वमेवं कुर्याः न अहमे, न मर्षयामि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (लृङ्) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

गर्हायां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायाम्, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति गर्हायाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

149. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavaklipti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयेत् ऋद्धो वृद्धः सन् ब्राह्मणः, गर्हामहे, अहो अन्याय्यमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brahmana (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sûdra, O! It is improper'!

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्च or यत्र त्वं हरिं निन्देः or अनिन्दित्यः, गर्हामहे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

चित्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकरणे, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्रयोः उपपदयोश्चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Lin' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चित्रीकरणं means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयेत् भार्ग्यमेतत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं याजये: or अयाजयिष्य: 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sûdra'; आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं अयाजयिष्य: 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sûdra perform a sacrifice.

शेषे लृङ्यदौ ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लृट्, अयदौ, (चित्रीकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे उपपत्तेरचित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति यदि शब्दश्चेज्ज प्रयुज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatra', the affix 'Lṛiṭ' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यत्र are not employed, as well as where the word यदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आश्चर्यं, चित्रं, अद्भुतम् अन्धो नाम पर्वतमारोहयति, बधिरो नाम व्याकरणम् अध्येष्यते 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word यदि is employed. Thus आश्चर्यं यदि सोऽधीयीत 'a wonder, if he study'. आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जेत 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sūtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः,

लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इत्येतयोः समर्थयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Liṇi' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of वाङ् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus उत कुर्यात् 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्यात् 'assuredly he does'; उताधीयीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c)'; अप्यधीयीत 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत वृंडः पतिस्यति 'will the stick fall'? अपि द्वारं धास्यति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with धा means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लृङ्) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ् (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लृङ्

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लङ् *must* be employed where sūtras III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

कामप्रवेदनेऽकच्चिति ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदने, अकच्चिति,

(लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छाभिज्ञाप इत्यर्थान्तरम्, तस्य प्रवेदनं प्रकाशनम्, तस्मिन् गम्यमानेऽकच्चि-
दुपपदे धातोलिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachchit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् = अभिज्ञायो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कच्चित्'? Observe कच्चिज्जीवति ते माता 'कच्चिज्जीवति ते पिता । माताविद रवां पृच्छामि कच्चिज्जीवति पार्वती ॥ 'I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O māravid! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvati is living'.

संभावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने,

अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संभावनं, क्रियासु योग्यताध्ववसानं शक्तिभ्रष्टानमं, तद्विदानीमलमर्थेन विशेष्यते, तच्चेत् संभावनं पर्याप्तमवितथं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो विशेषणं, सिद्धश्चेदलमोऽप्रयोगः, कचासौ सिद्धः, यत्र गम्यते चाप्ये नचासौ प्रयुज्यते, तद्वद्दृशे सम्भावनोपाधिकोऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alam'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. The word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलं. The word अलं means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावनं must be completed, full and true i. e. realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे qualifies अलं, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलं is valid or unobjectionable. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलं is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि पर्वतं शिरसा भिन्नात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि द्रोण-पाकं भुञ्जीत 'I expect you will eat away even a *drona* of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलं 'competent to do'? Observe, विश्वेश्वराय

देवदत्त प्रायेण गमिष्यति ग्रामम् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though 'expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by भलं, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, भलं देवदत्तो हस्तिनं हनिष्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (लङ्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place'.

विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽयदि ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धातौ, सम्भावन-वचने, अयदि, (संभावने, जलमिति, चेत्, सिद्धाप्रयोगे, लिङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातानुपपदे यच्छब्दवर्जिते धातोर्विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sūtra qualifies this sūtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sūtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावय अपि, or अपिनाम, is called सम्भावन-वचन. This sūtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I expect you will eat'; अवकल्पयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I hope you will eat'; अर्धे भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यत् is employed. As सम्भावयामि यद् भुञ्जीत भवान् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sūtra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when यद् is employed."

हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति चार्थे वर्त्तमानाद् धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.

The word हेतु means 'cause or 'condition' and हेतुमत् means consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (हेतु) and *apodosis* (हेतुमत्), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—इत्तिणेन चेद्यायान् शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आह्वयेत् शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (हेतुमत्).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus इत्तिणेन चेद् यास्यति न शकटं पदाभिव्यति 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विभाषा 'optionally' used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvṛtti of लिङ् could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हन्तीति पलायते 'he kills, therefore he flies'; वर्षति इति धावति 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (लृङ्) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेषु, लिङ्लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुपूपपदेषु धातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कामप्रवेदनइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing, is in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as इप्, कम्, प्रार्थं &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इच्छामि कामये or प्रार्थये भुङ्क्षीत भवान् or भुङ्क्तां भवान् 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

Var.—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'.

The sūtra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्, (इच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषु समानकर्तृकेषुपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वटि or वांछति भोक्तुम् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोक्तुम् 'he wishes to eat'; पिनाकपाणिं पतिम् भामुम् इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pināka-handed God Siva'.

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say देवदत्तं भोक्तुम् इच्छति यज्ञदत्तः 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुज् and इप् are not the same. We must say, भुञ्जानम् instead of भोक्तुम् ।

Why-do not we use it here:—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु धातुषुपदेषु धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Lin' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुञ्जीय इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अधीयीष्येति इच्छति 'he wishes that he will read'.

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेभ्यो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेभ्यः, विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वर्तमाने काले विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Lin) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिङ् where there would have been otherwise लट्. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वटि or उच्यते; कामयते or कामयेत् ।

विधिनिसन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्ट संप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥

विधि-निसन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विध्याद्यर्थेषु धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

161. The affix 'Lin' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधिः means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रणं means 'giving invitation'; आमन्त्रणं means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; अधीष्टः means 'to politely express a wish'; सम्प्रश्नः means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus :—

(1) कटे कुर्यात् 'let him make the mat'; ग्रामम् भवान् आगच्छेत् 'you come to the village';

(2 and 3) इह भवान् भुञ्जीत 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवान् आसीत् 'here you will or may sit';

(4) अधीच्छामो भवन्तं माणवकं भवानुपनयेत् 'we wish that you should condescend to initiate this boy';

(5) किं भो व्याकरणमधीयीय उत तर्कम् ? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic'?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं अधीयीय 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-सम्प्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोर्विध्याद्विषयेषु ॥

162. The affix 'Lot' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛitti of लोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus :—

(1) कटे तावद् भवान् करोतु 'make the mat'; ग्रामं भवान् आगच्छतु ।

(2 and 3) अमुत्र भवान् आस्ताम् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुत्रं भवान् अध्यापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं भो वेदमध्ययै उत तर्कं 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic'?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमध्ययै छन्दोऽध्ययै 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

प्रेषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष-अतिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषणं प्रेषः, कान्धाराम्भ्यनुज्ञानमतिसर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य कालस्यावसरः प्राप्तकालः, एतेष्वर्थेषु धातोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

163. The affixes called 'Kṛitya', and the affix 'Loṭ' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word प्रैष means 'direction'; अतिसर्गः means 'permission to do as one likes'; प्राप्तकालः means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of च is to introduce the word लोट् into this aphorism. Thus भवता कटः करणीयः, कर्तव्यः, कृत्यः or कार्यः 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participles, for such the Kṛitya affix (III. 1. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करीतु कट 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kṛitya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generically to come in denoting action in the Abstract (भाव) and object (कर्म) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that लोट् being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an apavāda or special rule excludes an utsarga or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude *kṛitya* affixes; we would reply, that *kṛitya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. '94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kṛitya* in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim :—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) does not necessarily apply in all cases after sūtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the words विधि and प्रैष? Some say विधि means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while प्रैष means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (प्रैषातिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रैषादिषु गम्यमानेषु ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यथा प्राप्तञ्च ॥

164. The affix 'Lin' (as well as the 'Kṛitya' and 'Loṭ') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhūrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment').

The words *वैष* &c. of the last sūtra must be read into this. The force of *च* is to introduce the words *कुर्या* and *जोद्* from the last sūtra, into this. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्तादपरि मुहूर्तस्य भवता खलु कठः कर्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवान् खलु कठं कुर्यात् (Potential) or करोतु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (प्रेषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु, ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपपत्तेः प्रेषादिषु गम्यमानेष्वूर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्भातोर्जोद्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Loṭ' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhūrta).

This supersedes the Potential (जिह्) and Potential Passive Participles (कुर्या). Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्ताद् भवान् कठं करोतु स्म, ग्रामं गच्छतु स्म, माणवकमध्यापयतु स्म 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Mānavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपपत्तेः अधीष्टे गम्यमाने धातोर्जोद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word स्म is understood here. The word अधीष्ट has already been explained in sūtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus अङ्गः स्म राजन् माणवकमध्यापय or अङ्गः स्म राजन् अग्निहोत्रं जुहुधि 'O! King! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिष्वुपपत्तेषु धातोस्तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velâ' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus कालो भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'; समयः खलु स्नानभोजने सेवितुम् 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in तुमुन् may be used with words meaning 'time'; as अवसरोऽयमात्मानं प्रकाशयितुम् 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालः पचति भूतानि 'time de-

vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c'. is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालो भोजनस्य 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix ल्युट् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sūtra III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यदि, (कालसमयवेलासु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दे उपपदे कालादिषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'Liñ' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kāla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in 'tūmun'. Thus कालः, समयो, वेला वा यद् भवान् भुञ्जीत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अहं कृत्यत्त्वच्च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहं, कृत्य-त्त्वः, च, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहं कर्तरिवाच्ये गम्यमाने वा धातोः कृत्यत्त्वः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

169. The affixes 'kritya', and the affix 'trich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'liñ').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्) into this; from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वीडन्या वाद्या or वहनीया, (kritya); or भवान् खलु कन्यया वीडा (trich); or भवान् खलु कन्यां वहेत् (liñ) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'kritya' and 'trich' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would *a fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the लिङ् being *pecially* enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavāda*, would have debarred *kritya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकामर्थयोर्णिनिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आध-मर्थयोः, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवश्यभावविशिष्टे आधमर्ण्यविशिष्टे च कर्तरिवाच्ये धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix 'nini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus अवश्यं कारी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also शतं दायी 'ought to be given a hundred'; सहस्रं दायी; निष्कं दायी &c.

कृत्याञ्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकामर्थयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाश्च प्रत्यया आवश्यकाधमर्ण्ययोरुपाधिभूतयोर्धातोर्भवन्ति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kritya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता खलु अवश्यं कटः कर्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः or कृत्वः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता शतं दाय्यं, देयं, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix णिनि of the last sūtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for णिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्ता), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (भाव) and the 'object' (कर्म); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like भव्य, मेघ &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of *kritya*-formed words in general.

शक्ति लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तीरुपाधिको धात्वर्थे लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् कृत्याञ्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Lin' as well as the '*kritya*' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability' qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root; Thus भवता खलु भारो बोध्यः, वहनीयः, वाह्यः (*kritya*), or भवान् खलु भारं वहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though *kritya*-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sūtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.

आशिषि लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, लिङ्-लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशीर्विशिष्टेभ्यं वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word आशीस् means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The लिङ् here referred to is what is known as the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ् which we have called the Potential or Optative; as चिरं जीव्याद् भवान् or चिरं जीवतु भवान् 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe चिरं जीवति देवदत्तः 'Devadatta lives long'.

क्तिच्-क्तौ च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तिच्-क्तौ, च, संज्ञा-याम्, (आशिषि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये धर्तौः क्तिच्-क्तौ प्रत्ययो भवतः समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus तन्तिः = तनुतात् 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); सातिः or सतिः = सनुतात् (VI. 4.45) 'wealth or gift'; भूतिः = भवतात् 'success'; मन्तिः = मनुतात् 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix क्तिच्. Of words formed by क्त in this sense, we have देवदत्तः = देवा एनं देवास्तुः 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix क्त has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by क्तिच्. The च् of क्तिच् is qualifying only, distinguishing it from क्तिन् &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4. 39.

माङि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ माङि, लुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्युपपदे धातौर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Lun' comes after a verb when the word 'mân' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा कार्षीत् 'let him not do' मा हर्षीत् 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? मा भवतु तस्य पापं मा भविष्यति। This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another मा which has not the indicative ङ; and with that मा, other tenses may be used. The augment ङ is elided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.

स्मोत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्म, उत्तरे, लङ्, च, (माङि,

लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दोत्तरे माङ्युपपदे धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराल्लुङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'mān' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lañ' as well as 'Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करोत्, or कार्षात्, 'let him not make'; मास्म हरत्, or हार्षात्, 'let him not take'.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER IV.

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धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातुर्यानां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विशेषणविशेष्यभावः, तस्मिन्सति भवयाकाङ्क्षा अपि प्रत्ययाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk:—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् have a past significance, i. e. they denote a person who *has* already *performed* the ceremony of Agnishtoma. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnishtoma sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this. "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धातुवर्थ 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: "It is to be observed, that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र वसन् वदति 'living there, he saw'; अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishtoma sacrifice'; कृतः कटः श्री भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; भाविकृत्यमासीत् ।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वसन्, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, 'affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निष्टोमयाजी is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनिता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier Agnishtomayâjī.

Q.—Why has the word प्रत्यय been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this from III. 1.1 ? Ans.—The repetition is for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed' of a cow'; गोमान् भविता 'he will be possessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix मनुप् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमन् meaning 'who has cows' or 'in which there are cows.' This word गोमन्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वौ वा च त-ध्वमोः ॥२॥ पदानि ॥
क्रिया-समभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वौ, वा, च, त-ध्वमोः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समभिहारविशिष्टक्रियावचनाद्धातोर्लोड्प्रत्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वजनकारणामपवादः तस्य च लोटो हि एव इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, तद्ध्वभायिनस्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Loṭ' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'sva', or the affixes 'tâ' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Loṭ'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसंबन्ध of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called समभिहारः । This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots."

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all moods. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and त्); and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and ध्वम्). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus लुनीहि लुनीही-त्येवायं लुनाति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येव इमौ लुनीतः or इमे लुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येव त्वं लुनासि, युवाम् लुनीथः or यूयं लुनीथ 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also लुनीत लुनीतेत्येव यूयं लुनीथ, अहं लुनामि, अयमज्ञावीत् &c. 'you cut, I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, इमौ अधीषाते, इमे अधीष्यते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them 'study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीध्वमधीध्वमित्येव यूयमधीध्वे &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as, अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवाहमधीये, आयामधीवहे, वयमधीमहे ।

The Intensive verbs in चङ् also have this meaning of frequency, but there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. 1. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but in Marathi.

समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्, (लोट्, लोटो, हिस्वौ, वा, तद्ध्रस्वोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चयीयमान क्रियावचनाद्गतोरन्यतरस्यां लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य लोटो हिस्वा-
वर्देशो भवतः ॥

3. The affix 'Lot' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed, namely, हि, स्व, or त् and ध्वम् । Thus भ्रात्रमट मठमट खरुरमट स्यात्त्यपिधानमटेत्येवायमटति or इमावटतः, or इमेऽटन्ति ।

Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly ह्रन्वोऽधीष्व, व्याकरणमधीष्व, निरुक्तमधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, or इमावधीयाते or इमेऽधीयते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणमधीष्वे,

छन्नीधीते, निरुक्तमधीते, इत्येवायमधीते, इमावधीयाते, इमेऽधीयते । छन्नीधीषे, व्याकरणमधीषे, निरुक्तमधीषे, इत्येव स्वमधीषे, युवामधीषाथे, यूयमधीषे । छन्नीधीषे व्याकरणमधीषे, निरुक्तमधीष इत्येवाहमधीषे, आवामधीषते, वयमधीषते ।

यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनु-
प्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् जोडविधाने यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sūtra III. 4. 2), the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sūtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say *जुनीहि जुनीहीर्येवायं छिनत्ति*; we must use a verb from the root *जृ* 'to cut'. Such as *जुनाति*, &c. So also *अधीष्वधीष्व* takes *अधोते* only after it and not a synonymous verb like *पठति* &c.

समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-व-
चनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये जोड विधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य धातोरनुप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus *भोदनं भुङ्क्ष्व, सक्तून्पिव, धानाः खादेत्येवायमभ्यवहरति* 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb *अभ्यवहरति* has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of *all* the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

छन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लुङ्-लङ्-लिटः,
(धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातुसम्बन्धे सर्वेषु कालेषु लुङ्लङ्लिटः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words *धातुसम्बन्ध* and *अन्यतरस्याम्* are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus *हेवो देवेभिरागमत्* (Rig. I. i. 5.) 'O God Agni ! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist *आगमत्* has the force of the Imperative. *ये भूतस्य प्रचेतस*

इवं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c'. (Rig. X. 85. 17). Here अकरं is Aorist (लृङ्) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमय होतारमवृणीतायं यजमानः । Here लङ् is used instead of लृङ् ।

So also अद्या ममार=अद्य म्रियते । Here लिङ् is used instead of लृङ् ।

लिङ्गर्थे लेट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गर्थे, लेट्, (छन्दसि, अन्यतर-स्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गर्थे यत्र लिङ् विधीयते, विध्यादिहेतुहेतुमतीर्ज्जित्येवनादिस्तत्र छन्दसि विषये अन्यतरस्यां लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लृङ् may be employed instead of लिङ्. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. पताति विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवति (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also मन्दिषत्, नेता, नेषत्, तन्निषत्, उदधिं च्यावयाति।

उपसंवादाशङ्कयोश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंवाद-आशङ्कयोः, च, (छन्दसि, लेट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसंवादे आशङ्कायां च गम्यमानायां छन्दसि विषये लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसम्वाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus यदि मे भवानिहं कुर्याद् अहमपि भवत इदं दास्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसम्वाद; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्का 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव पशुनामीशौ ॥ मदमा एव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्तै ॥ मर्वेयतयान्येव वः पानाप्यु-च्यान्तै ॥ नेज्जिह्वायन्तो (or नेज्जिह्वायन्त्यो) नरकं पताम ॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk)=जिह्वाचरणेन नरकपत आशङ्क्यते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not optionally, which anuvṛitti was understood in the last sūtra.

तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेन्वसेकसेनध्वैअध्वैन्कध्वैकध्वैन्शध्वैशध्वैन्तवै-तवेङ्-तवेनः ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन्-असे-असेन्-वसे-कसेन्-अध्वै-अध्वैन्-कध्वै-कध्वैन्-शध्वै-शध्वैन्-तवै-तवेङ्-तवेनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

तुमुनोर्ध्वस्तुमर्थः, तत्र छन्दसि विषये धातोः सयादयः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz:—
'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhyain',
'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', 'śadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven'
and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes:—(1) से=से, सेन् and कसे ॥ (2) असे=असे, असेन् and कसेन् ॥ (3) अधै=अधै, अधैन्, कधै, कधैन्, शधै and शधैन् ॥ (4) तवै ॥ (5) तवे=तवेङ् and तवेन् ।

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. न्, क्, श् and ङ् । The forces of क्, श् and ङ् have already been explained ; the indicatory न् makes the word take the *uddatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus से is acute (III. 1. 3); सेन् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असेन् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श् makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sārvadhātuka, and the root takes the proper Vikaraṇa of its class before these affixes; while before तवै, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमर्थ 'the sense of the affix तुम्' । The word तुमर्थ is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुमुन्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, i. e. it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—वक्षे रायः । (2) सेन्—तवामेधं रथानाम् (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) असे and असेन्—भूमे नृतं शूरवै । जीवसे धा (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also कृत्वे दक्षाय जीवसे (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन् the word will be जीवसे । (5) कसे—प्रेषे भगाय । (6) कसेन्—गर्वामिव श्रियसे (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us श्रियसे । (7 and 8) अधै, अधैन्—कर्मण्युपचारयै । (9) कधै—इन्द्राग्नी आहुवधै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) कधैन्—श्रियधै । (11 and 12) शधै, शधैन्—पिबधै (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि । सह माहुयधै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवै—सीमनिन्द्राय पातवै । (14) तवेङ्—सं ते गर्भे हवामहे दशमे मासि स्रूतवे (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) तवेन्=गंतवे (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवे (Rig. I. 85. 9); हर्तवे ॥

प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्यधिष्यै ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयै, रोहिष्यै,
अव्यधिष्यै, (तुमर्थे, छंदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्यधिष्यै इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रये हेवेभ्यो महीः (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र + या + कै = प्रये = मयातुम् । (2) अपामो-
पधीनां रोहिष्यै । रुह् + इष्यै = रोहिष्यै = रोहणाय । (3) अ + व्यथ् + इष्यै = अव्यथिष्यै = अव्यथनाय ।

दृशे विख्ये च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशे, विख्ये, च, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशे विख्ये इत्येतौ छन्दसि विषये निपात्येते ॥

11. The words 'driśe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृशे विधाय सूर्यम् (Rig. I. 50. 1) = द्रष्टुम् । विख्ये त्वा हरामि = विख्यातुम् ।

शकि णमुल्कमुलौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, णमुल्-कमुलौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ धातावुपरि छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे णमुल्कमुल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'namul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Ohhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix णमुल् the real affix is अम्; the letter ण causes vṛddhi (VII. 2. 115); and ज regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुल्, the letter क prevents guṇa and vṛddhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus अग्निं वै देवा विभाजं नाशक्नुवन् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni'. विभञ् + णमुल् = विभाजं = विभक्तुम् । So also अपलपं नाशक्नुवन्, instead of अपलोत्तुम् ।

ईश्वरे तोसुन्कसुनौ ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोसुन्-कसुनौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरशब्द उपपरे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे धातोस्तोसुन्कसुन्प्रत्ययौ भवतः ।

13. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Ohhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word 'Īśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिचरितो = अभिचरितुम् । ईश्वरो विनित्यः = विनिखितुम् । ईश्वरो विद्वः = वितर्वितुम् ।

कृत्यार्थे तवैकेन्केन्यत्वनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थे, तवै-केन्-केन्य-त्वनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थो भावकर्मणो, तस्मिन् कृत्यार्थे छन्दसि विषये तवै केन् केन्य स्वन् इत्ये-
ते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai', 'ken', 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Ohhandas, in the sense of the 'Kṛitya-affixes'.

The force of *kṛitya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाव) and 'object' (कर्मन्). Thus अन्वेतवै = अन्वेतव्यम्; परिधातवै = परिधातव्यम्; नावगाहै = नावगाहितव्यम्; विदुक्षेपयः (Rig. I.

146. 5) = कृत्तितव्यम्; शुभ्रवेद्यः = शुभ्रवितव्यम्; कर्त्तव्यम्; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्त्तव्यम् ।

The affix तवै was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. 1. 200; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाच्चक्षिष्ठ एग्रप्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुणा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावखयातव्यम्। अव + चक्ष् + एग्र = अवचक्षे। The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्थेण्-कृञ्-वदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥

भाव-लक्षणे, स्था-इण्-कृञ्-वदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो लक्ष्यते येन तस्मिन्नर्थे वर्तमानेभ्यः स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz :—'sthā' (to stand), 'in' (to go), 'kriñ' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्था is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षण qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्ष्यते येन). Thus, स्था—भा संस्थातोर्वेद्यां सीदन्ति = भासमानेः सीदन्ति । इण्—पुरा सत्यस्योतेतोराधेयः । कृञ्—पुरा वत्सानामपाकर्तोः । वद्—पुरा पवदितोराग्नौ प्रहोतव्यम् । चर्—पुरा प्रचरितोराग्नीध्रीये होतव्याः । (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) । हु—भा होतोरप्रमत्तस्तिष्ठति । तम्—भा तमितोरासोत (Taitt. Br. I. 4. 4. 2) । जन्—भा विजनितोः सम्भवाम (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5).

सृपितृदोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृपि-तृदोः, कसुन्, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृपितृदोर्धात्वोर्भावलक्षणैर्ग्रथे वर्तमानयोश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे कसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विसृपः । पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपः (Yaj. I. 28.); आहवः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); पुरा जन्तुभ्य आहवः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंखस्योः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां कृत्या ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलं-खस्योः, प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, कृत्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नं खलु इत्येतयोः प्रतिषेधवाचिनोरुपपदयोर्धातोः स्या प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu', expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'in the Vedas &c' does not extend further. Thus अन्नं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खलु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अलं बाले रुदित्वा 'do not weep, O girl !

Why do we say 'when there are अन्नं and खलु' ? Witness माकार्षीः 'do not make'. Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition' ? Observe अन्नङ्कारः 'decoration'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अन्नंरोदनेन 'do not weep'. Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word प्राचां is for the sake of merely showing respect (pūjārtha); the rule could have stood without it.

उदीचां माङो व्यतीहारे ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, माङः, व्यतीहारे, (कृत्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङो धातोर्व्यतीहारे वर्तमानादुदीचाभाचार्याणां मतेन सप्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' is added to the root 'meñ' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अयमिदं दत्तं याचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप + मे + कृत्वा = अप + मा + ल्यप् = अप + मि + तुक् + य (VI. 1. 45 and 71) = अप + मित्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, याचित्वाऽपयमते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of ktvā; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sūtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root मेङ् has been exhibited in the sūtra as माङ्, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhāṣā:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or ऐ, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or ऐ, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhāṣa ऐप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ (VI. 1. 45), even while ए remains, ऐप् does assume the form दाप् and is consequently, by the prohibition अदाप् in sūtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed घृ ।

परावरयोगे च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-योगे, च, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्य योगे गम्यमाने अवरं च परस्य धातोः सत्रा मत्वयो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvā' is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावरयोगः । Thus अग्राय नदीन् पर्वतः स्थितः 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river i. e. on this side of the river, the river being on the other side.' Here the word पर्वत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिक्रम्य तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain'. Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर ।

..... In other words:—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other action"—G. P.

समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकयोः, पूर्व-काले, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समान-कर्त्ता ययोर्द्वयं योस्तत्र पूर्वकाले धारयते वर्तमानाद्धातोः क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

बालिकम् ॥ आस्यं व्यादाय स्वपिति सम्मील्य हसतीत्युपसंख्यानमपूर्वकालत्वात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvā' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Absolute in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा व्रजति 'having drunk, he goes'.

The rule is not confined to the case of *two* verbs: thus, स्नात्वा, पीत्वा, भुक्त्वा, व्रत्वा व्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes'.

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus भुक्तवति ब्राह्मणे गन्धति देवदत्तः the 'Brahmaṇa having been fed, Devadatta goes'.

Why do we say 'which denotes *prior* action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus व्रजति च जल्पति च 'he goes and chatters'.

Vart.—The phrase आस्यं व्यादाय स्वपिति, संमील्य हसति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix क्त्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

आभीक्ष्ये खमुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आभीक्ष्ये, खमुल्, च,
(समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्यविशिष्टेऽयं वर्तमानाद्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affixes 'namul' and 'kṭvā' come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose action occurs first in time' are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix क्त्वा into this sūtra. The affixes kṭvā and namul express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं ब्रजति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, पायं पायं ब्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यद्यनाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे,
(क्त्वा, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दउपपत्ते धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ न भवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'kṭvā' and 'namul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकाङ्क्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent, and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, kṭvā and namul are not used, when the word yad is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix kṭvā also, though the affix namul is in immediate context. Thus यद्यं भुङ्क्ते ततः पचति, यद्यमधीते ततः शोते, having eaten, he cooks; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकाङ्क्षा, we have यद्यं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, अधीत एव ततः परम् । Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus : "In connection with यद् the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement."

विभाषाग्रप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अग्र-प्रथम-
पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रं प्रथमं पूर्वं इत्येतेषूपपत्तेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ विभाषा भवतः ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition :—'agre', 'prathamā' and 'pūrva'.

This is an *Aprāpta-vibhāṣā*. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अग्रे, प्रथमं, पूर्वं वा भोजं भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated, that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c, may be employed also. Thus अग्रे भुङ्क्ते ततः व्रजति 'he eats first and then goes'.

Q.—The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वासकरूप (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sūtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhāṣā* :—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvā* and *namul*, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule."

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c, when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of क्त्वा and एमुञ् ।

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only एमुञ् been enjoined by this sūtra, and not क्त्वा also, then we could have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word एव in that sūtra.

कर्मवयाक्रोशे कञः खमुञ् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, आक्रोशे, कञः,

खमुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे कृञो धातोः खमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

25. The affix 'khamuñ' is added to the verb 'kri' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुञ्, the efficient portion is अम्; the indicatory ख introduces the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 67). Thus चोरं कारमाक्रोशति 'he reviles him as thief, i. e. he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादि

स्वादुमि खमुल् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुमि, खमुल्, (कञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाद्वर्धयैषूपपदे कृञो एमुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kri' and another, have the same agent), the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kri' (which is concerned

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादुङ्कारं or लवणंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वादुम् is used ending with a न्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a न् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in उ is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वाद्रीम् कृत्वा यवागून् भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं यवागून् भुङ्क्ते । Here though यवागू is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वाद्री ।

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खमुञ् ? That will solve all difficulties ; and will give us the augment मुन्' । To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment मुन् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will *not* come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix च्वि and all *chvi*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खमुञ् will not remove the difficulty in the following case ; अस्वाद्रीं स्वाद्रीं कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix क्त्वा in the alternative. Thus स्वादुं कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते । All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाव) as they have the sense of the affix तुमुन् (III. 4. 16). In connection with एमुञ्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, *i. e.* we cannot use the Passive construction ; *e. g.* स्वादुंकारं यवागून् भुङ्क्ते देवदत्तेन will be wrong.

अन्यथैवकथमित्यंसुसिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यथा-एवं-कथम्-इत्यंसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कञः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यथादिषूपपदेषु कृत्रो एमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोतेर्भवति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathâ' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृञ् valid ? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, *i. e.* when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारं, एवकारं, कथंकारं or इत्थंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाकारं भुङ्क्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा भुङ्क्ते ।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid' ? Witness

अन्यथा कृत्वा शिरो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृच् could not be spared.

यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथयोः, अ-सूया-प्रतिवचने, (कृञः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोरुपपत्त्योः कृञो णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति, असूया प्रतिवचने गम्यमाने ॥

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kri' (to make), the words 'yathâ' and 'tathâ' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made : (if the omission of 'kriñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus तथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way ; what is that to you' ? Similarly यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन ।

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made' ? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भोक्ष्ये तथा त्वं प्रक्ष्यसि 'in what way I will eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृच् would be valid' ? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं शिरो भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat' ?

कर्मणि दृशिबिदोः साकल्ये ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दृशि-बिदोः, साकल्ये, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपत्ते साकल्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे दृशिबिदोर्ज्ञात्वोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'driś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्यावर्गं वरयति 'he woos every girl that he sees i. e. all the girls seen'. ब्राह्मणवर्गं भोजयति 'he feeds as many Brāhmaṇas as he knows, i. e. all'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects' ? Observe ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति विन्दजीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द-जीवोः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावच्छब्द उपपत्ते विन्दतेर्जावतेश्च णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jīv' (to live), when the word 'yâvat' is combined with them.

As यावद्वर्षं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats all that he gets'. यावज्जीवनधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, i. e. throughout his life'.

चर्मोदरयोः पूरे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर्म-उदरयोः, पूरे, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चर्मोदरयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः पूरयतेर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the words 'charman' and 'udar' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats so as to fill his belly' ? चर्मपूरं स्त्रणाति 'he spreads so as to cover the skin'.

वर्षप्रमाणं ऊलोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ष-प्रमाणे, ऊ-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरयतेर्जातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ऊलोपश्चात् पूरयतेरन्यतरस्यां भवति समुदायेन चेद्वर्षस्य प्रमाणमित्या गम्यते ॥

32. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long 'û' of this 'pûr' is elided.

Thus गोष्पदपूरं or गोष्पदं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil)'. सीतापूरं or सीतामं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up all furrows'.

Why have we used the word अस्य 'of this pûr' in the sūtra ? The long ऊ of पूर is to be elided, and not the long ऊ, if there be any, of the upapada. Thus मूषिकाविज्रपूरं or मूषिकाविज्रं वृष्टो देवः । Here the long ऊ of मू is not shortened.

चेले क्नोपेः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेले, क्नोपेः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्, वर्ष-प्रमाणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्नूयो शब्दे उन्वने च, अस्माप्प्यन्ताद्वातोर्ध्वेनायेंषु कर्मसु उपपदेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति वर्षप्रमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix 'namul' comes after the causative of the root 'knûy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing', in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्लोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्लूय 'to wet'. Thus चेलक्लोपं वृष्टो देवः or वस्त्रक्लोपं or वसनक्लोपं &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes'.

निमूलसमूलयोः कपः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कपः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलशब्दयोः कर्मवाचिनोरुपपदयोः कर्षेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimûla' and 'samûla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकायं कषति 'he scrapes down to the roots'; समूलकायं कषति 'he scrapes up to the roots'. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकायंकषति being equal to निमूलं कषति. From this sūtra up to sūtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sūtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरूक्षेषु पिषः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रूक्षेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्मवाचिषूपपदेषु पिषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'śushka' (dry), 'chûrṇa' (powder), and 'rûksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कपेषं पिनटि = शुष्कं पिनटि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णपेषं पिनटि 'he grinds to powder'; रूक्षपेषं पिनटि 'he grinds it dry'. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष् must be used to govern the gerund.

समूलारुतजीवेषु हन्कृज्ग्रहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समूल-अरुत-जीवेषु, हन्-कृज्-ग्रहः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूल अकृत जीव इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्मसूपपदेषु यथासंख्यं हन् कृज् ग्रह् इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kri' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samûla', 'akṛita' and 'jîva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समूलघातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots i. e. he totally extirpates'; अकृतकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; तं जीवमाहं गृह्णाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, i. e. captures him alive'. Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

करणे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, हनः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करण उपपदे हन्तेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb

'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिघातं वेदिं हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54) = पाणिना वेदिं हन्ति 'he strikes the *Vedi* with the hand'; पादघातं भूमिं हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot'. Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हन् here does not mean 'to kill', and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sūtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sūtra III. 4. 48; or this sūtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पादघातं ।

According to Pātanjali, this affix comes after हन् under this aphorism, even when हन् means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus भस्त्रिघातं हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शरघातं हन्ति 'he kills with arrows'.

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनाच्चिनि करणे उपपदे पिषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उद्वेषं पिनटि = उदक्त्रेण पिनटि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैलवेषं पिनटि 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्ते वर्तिग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तवाच्चिनि करणे उपपदे वर्तयतेर्गृह्णातेश्च णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vrit) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तवर्ते, करवर्ते or पाणिवर्ते वर्तयति = हस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand'. So also, तम् हस्तमाहम् गृह्णाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिमाहम्, करमाहम् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववाच्चिनि करणे उपपदे पुषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self', 'kinsmen' and 'property'. Thus स्वपोषं पुष्पाति 'he feeds himself'; आत्मपोषं, गोपोषं, पित्रपोषं, मातृपोषं, धनपोषं, रैपोषं &c. See I. i. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणे बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, बंधः, (शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपपत्तेर्बन्धातेर्द्धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh*. Thus चक्रबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds to the wheel'; कटुबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in a snare'; मुट्टिबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the fist'. चोरकबन्धं बध्नाति = चोरकं बध्नाति ।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषये बन्धातेर्द्धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus कौचबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot'. मयूरिकाबन्धं बध्नाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot'. अट्टालिकाबन्धं बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *attālikā-bandhan*'.

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots'. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्रा जीवपुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्रोः, जीव-पुरुषयोः, नशि-वहोः, (शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्तृवाचिनोरुपपदयोः यथासंख्यमनशिवहोर्द्धातोर्णमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'naś' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jīva' (life) and 'purusha' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनाशं नश्यति = जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes i. e. dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries, i. e. the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुरुषः प्रेम्णो भूत्वा वहति ।

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नष्टः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेणोक्तः 'carried by a man'.

ऊर्ध्वे शुषिपूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्ध्वे, शुषि-पूरोः, (कर्त्रेः, यामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वशब्दे कर्तृवाचिन्त्युपपदे शुषिपूरोर्द्धात्त्वोर्णमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'sush' (to dry), and 'pûr' (to fill), when the word 'ûrdhva', denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऊर्ध्वशोषं शुष्यति वृत्तः = ऊर्ध्वे शुष्यति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing'. Compare यद्गोर्ध्वशोषदणववृश्शुष्कः 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III. 14); ऊर्ध्वपूर्वपूर्यते 'is filled full to the brim'. Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

उपमाने कर्मणि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मणि, च, (कर्त्रेः, यामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मण्युपपदे चकारात् कर्तरि धातोर्णमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sūtra, by virtue of the word च 'also'. That with which any thing is compared is called उपमान or 'object of comparison or similitude'. As घृतनिधायम् निहितम् जलम् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept'. सुवर्णनिधायम् निहितः 'was kept as gold'. The force is that of इव; thus घृतनिधायम् निहितः = घृतमिव निहितः । So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, भजनाशे नटः 'he perished like a goat'. So also चूडकनाशम्, हन्तनाशम्, &c.

कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु, यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निम्नसमूहयोरित्येतद्वारण्य कषादयः, एतेषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sūtra III. 4. 34 up to sūtra III. 4. 45, a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, {from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः) । See III. 4. 1 : so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by some verb as *anuprayoga*; the present sūtra declares that the *other* verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

उपदंशस्त्वतीयायाम् ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, तृतीयायां, (शुमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दंश इशने, अस्माद्धातोरुपपूर्वात्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'namul' comes after the root 'danś' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada sandha* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूलकोपश्च शम्भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपश्च शम्भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish'. Similarly आर्द्रकोपश्च शम्भुङ्क्ते or आर्द्रकोनोपश्च शम्भुङ्क्ते 'relished with ginger'.

The words मूलक &c in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb उपश्च, and 'instruments' of the verb शम्भुङ्क्ते ।

By the rule of वासस्वरूप (III. 1. 94) the affix लृषा (or its substitute लृषप्) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix णमुन् । Thus मूलकोनोपश्च शम्भुङ्क्ते ।

हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम् ॥४८॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्थानां, च, समान-कर्मकाणां, (शुमुल्, तृतीयायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा प्राण्युपपातः, तर्थाणां धातूनामनुप्रयोगधातूनां समानकर्मकाणां तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'namul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus इण्डोपपातम् गाः कालयति 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also इण्डेनोपपातम् । Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, इण्डताडम् or इण्डेन ताडम् ।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, णमुन् will not be employed. Thus चोरम् इण्डेनोपश्रय, गोपालको गाः कालयति 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows'.

सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उप-पीड-रुध-कर्षः, (तृतीयायां, शुमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वेभ्यः पीडरुधकर्षेभ्यः सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे चकारात्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'pîḍ' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'krish' (to draw),

when they are preceded by the preposition 'upa', and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase '3rd case-affix' must be read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च। Thus पार्श्वोपपीडं गते 'he sleeps pressing on his sides'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पार्श्वयोरुपपीडम् or पार्श्वानुपपीडम्।

So also व्रजोपरोधम् (or व्रजे उपरोधम् or व्रजेनोपरोधम्) गाः स्थापयति 'he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold'. पाण्डुपर्कम् (or पाण्डुपर्कम् or पाणिनोपकर्कम्) धानाः संगृह्णाति। It is Bhvādi कृप् here, and not Tudādi.

समासत्तौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासत्तौ, (सप्तम्यां, तृतीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासत्तौ गम्यमानायां तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. (The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended i. e. 'to fall together by the ears'.

The word समासत्तिः means 'immediate contiguity'. Thus केशमाहम् (or केशेषु माहम् or केशैर्माहम्) युध्यन्ते 'having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight.' Similarly हस्तमाहम् or हस्तेषु माहम् or हस्तैर्माहम्; so also यष्टिमाहम् 'taking a stick'; लोद्ग्राहं &c. See II. 2. 21.

प्रमाणे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमाणे, च, (तृतीयायां, सप्तम्यां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे गम्यमाने तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्रमाणम् means 'length or extension'. Thus द्व्यङ्गुलौत्कर्षं (द्व्यङ्गुले उत्कर्षम् or द्व्यङ्गुलेनोत्कर्षम्) खण्डिकां द्विनति 'he cuts pieces of the length of two fingers'. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परीप्सायाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, परीप्सायां, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां अपादाने उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix 'namul' is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

The word परीप्ता means 'haste, hurry'. Thus शय्योत्थाय (or शय्याया उत्थाय) धावति 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c, but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly रन्त्रापकर्षम् पयः पिबति 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture. भाट्टापकर्षमपूपान् भक्षयति 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting till they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, भासनादुत्थाय गच्छति 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix त्वा (ह्यप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीप्सायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'namul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus यष्टिग्रहम् (or यष्टिं ग्राहम्) युध्यन्ते 'they fight, having hastily taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such a haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly लोष्ट्रग्रहम् or लोष्ट्रं ग्राहम् ।

स्वाङ्गेऽध्रुवे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, अध्रुवे, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्रुवे स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus भ्रूविक्षेपं कथयति 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. अक्षिनिर्काणम् जल्पति 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The स्वाङ्गः word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word अध्रुव means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

एमुन् in the following, as *head* is not an अङ्गुल limb:—उरस्तप्य शिरः कथयति 'he narrates, having thrown the head on one side'. Compare VI. 2. 177.

परिक्रिश्यमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्रिश्यमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्रिश्यमाने स्वाङ्गव्यञ्जिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्रिश्यमान means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus उरः प्रतिवेधं or उरःवेधं युध्यन्ते = कृश्नमुरः पीडयन्तः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also शिरःवेधं, or शिरःप्रतिवेधं ।

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast', 'head' &c; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दां, व्याप्यमान-आसेव्यमानयोः, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे विश्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्यमाने आसेव्यमाने चायं गम्यमाने ॥

56. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'viś' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्यमान) means, the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विश्, &c). The word आसेवा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेवा to the verb (such as *viś* &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words निश्चय and वीक्ष्य in sūtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गेहानुप्रवेशमास्ते, (or गेहं गेहमनुप्रवेशमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रवेशमनुप्रवेशमास्ते) 'having entered the house, he sits down', meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down', or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down'.

Similarly with the root पत्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पद् and स्कन्द् । Thus गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपातमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातमास्ते); गेहानुप्रपादमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपादं or गेहमनुप्रपादमनुप्रपादम्); गेहावस्कन्दमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमवस्कन्दं or गेहमवस्कन्दमवस्कन्दम्) ।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of *all* or *frequency*? Observe, गेहमनुप्रविश्य भुङ्क्ते 'having entered the house, he eats'.

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *ābhikṣhna* was meant; and *ābhikṣhna* and *āsevā* mean the same thing *i. e.*, 'frequency'. Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of *āsevā*? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix त्त्वा", that is not so. For त्त्वा would come by वासकृत् rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samāsa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—"विग्, पत्, पद्, and स्कन्द् in composition with an accusative, form the absolutive gerund in अम् (*namul*), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्यतितृषोः क्रियांतरे कालेषु ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-तृषोः,

क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयार्या, गुणल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियामन्तरयति क्रियान्तरः, क्रियाव्यवधायकः, क्रियान्तरे धात्वर्थे वर्त्तमानाभ्यामस्यतिद्विषिभ्यां द्वितीयान्तरे कालवाचिपूषणेषु एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions'. Thus दूधहारयासं or दूधहनस्यासम् गाः पाययति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, *i. e.* every third day'. So also दूधहतर्षे or दूधं तर्षे गाः पाययति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink'. That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs अस् and तृष्'? Because the affix एमुन् will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus दूधहमुषोष्य भुङ्क्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe अहरत्यस्येप् गतः; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going'.

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe योजनमत्यस्य गाः पाययति 'allowing an interval of four miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows i. e. he waters the cows at every four miles'. Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time', and hence the affix is च्यप् and not णमुल् ।

नामन्यादिशिग्रहोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्नि, आदिशि-ग्रहोः,
(द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामशब्दे द्वितीयान्त उपपदे आदिशोर्महेश्व धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'â-dis' and 'grah', when the word 'nâman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामादेशमाचष्टे 'he mentions it, telling his name'. नाममाहं मामाहयति 'he calls me by taking my name (i. e. by my name)'.

अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने रुजः क्त्वाणमुलौ ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आख्याने, रुजः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने गम्यमाने करोतेः क्त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word अयथाभिप्रेताख्यान means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended' i. e. a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix क्त्वा may be replaced by च्यप्. Thus we have three forms नीचैः कृत्य, नीचैः कृत्वा, or नीचैः कारं. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृषल नीचैः कृत्वा, नीचैः कृत्य or नीचैः कारमाचष्टे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as प्राण कप्याते गर्भिणी in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृषलोच्चैः कृत्वा, उच्चैः कृत्य, or उच्चैः कारमाचष्टे" । (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe उच्चैः कृत्वाऽऽचक्षे वृषल ज्ञातः । Here only क्त्वा is added. Why have we repeated क्त्वा in this sūtra, when in this chapter, by the rule of वासकप (III, 1. 94), क्त्वा would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of samāsa or composition, by the application of II, 2. 22. The repetition

of एणुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of *ktvā* and *namul* runs concurrently.

तिर्यच्यपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्यचि, अपवर्गे, (कृशः, क्त्वा-
यमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिर्यक्शब्द उपपदे कृशः तत्राणमुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतोऽपवर्गे गम्यमाने ॥

60. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri', when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end'.

The word अपवर्ग means 'completing or finishing'. Thus तिर्यक् कृश, तिर्यक् कृश or तिर्यक्कारं गतः = समाप्य गतः 'having completed, he went away'.

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्यक् कृश काष्ठं गतः 'having placed the wood *obliquely*, he went away'. Here एणुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्यचि is the locative of the *word-form* तिर्यच्, and not of the *word* तिर्यच् । Other examples are: एतदोश् (V. 3. 5); भदसो मात् (I. 1. 12).

स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृभ्वोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये,
कृ-भ्वोः, (क्त्वा-यमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गवाचिनि उपपदे करोतेर्भवतेभ्य धातोः तत्राणमुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

61. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' (to make) and 'bhū' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'tas' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sūtra III. 4. 54. The *svāṅga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्—a *taddhita* affix technically called तसि and तसिन् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied *i. e.* तत्रा and एणुल्; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus मुखतः कृत्य गतः or मुखतः कृश गतः or मुखतः कारं गतः । Similarly वृद्धतः भूय तिष्ठति or वृद्धतः भूत्वा तिष्ठति or वृद्धतः भावं तिष्ठति ।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe सर्वतः कृत्वा गतः ।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्'? Observe मुलीकृत्य गतः, मुली-भूय गतः ।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus मुखे तस्यति = मुखतः 'throws in the mouth'. With this मुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृत्वा गतः ।

नाधार्यप्रत्यये ऋयर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये,
चवी-अर्थ, (कृभ्योः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाधार्यप्रत्यये शब्दे ऋयर्थे उपपदे कृभ्योर्धात्वोः तत्राणमुजो प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' and 'bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nâ' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhâ' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something what it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words, नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of धा are धा, ध्यम्, धम् and एधा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus अनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्य गतः Similarly नाना कृत्वा or नानाकारं गतः । So also विना कृत्य, विना कृत्वा or विना कारं गतः । So also नाना or विना भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । With words formed by धा and cognate affixes, we have:—द्विधा or द्वेधं कृत्य—कृत्वा—कारं—भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । But not so in हिरक् कृत्वा, पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: नाधार्यं ऋयर्थे, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of धा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू, would have taken the affix णमुज् and त्ता. But that is not so. Thus the words हिरक् 'except' and पृथक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and धा respectively; as हिरक् कृत्वा, or पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काष्ठानि गतः ।

The word अर्थ in नाधार्य qualifies only the term धा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of धा । The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीमि भुवः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीमि, भुवः, (क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णीमि शब्द उपपदे स्वतन्त्रार्थोः तत्राणमुजो भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tûshṇim' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णींभूय, तूष्णीं भूत्वा, or तूष्णींभावं 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sūtra, shows that the anuvṛitti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

अन्वय्यानुलोम्ये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वयि, आनुलोम्ये, (भुवः,

कृत्वा-अनुलो) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वक्रशब्दपरे भवतेधांतोरानुलोम्ये त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhū', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वग्भूय—अन्वग्भूवा or अन्वग्भावमास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वग्भूवा तिष्ठति 'he remains behind'.

शकधृषज्ञागलाघटरभलभक्रमसहार्हास्त्यर्थेषु तुमुन् ॥६५॥ पदानि ॥

शक-धृष-ज्ञा-गला-घट-रभ-लभ-क्रम-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिपृषपरेषु अस्त्यर्थेषु वा धातुमात्रात् तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhrish' (to make bold), 'jñā' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sūtra III. 3. 10. In that sūtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in construction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शक्नोमि भोक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानाति—ग्लायति—घटते—भारभते—लभते—प्रक्रमते—सहते—अर्हति—अस्ति—भवति—or विद्यते भोक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sūtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says अर्थमहण-मस्तिनैव सम्बध्यते अनन्तरत्वात् i. e. the sūtra gives roots from शक् to अर्ह and roots having the same sense as अस् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पारय 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारयामि निवेदयितुम् (S. 4), पारयिष्यत्यत्रभवत्यभपरांश्चुम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न च वेदसम्यग् ब्रूम् न सा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Apte's Composition.*

पर्याप्तिवचनेऽवलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याप्ति-वचनेषु, अलम-
अर्थेषु, (तुमुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्याप्तिवचनेऽवलमर्थेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something'.

The word पर्याप्ति means 'capability, ability, fulness'. Thus लिखितमपि जलाटे शोड्धिस्तुम् कः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead'. लोकान् अज्जं इग्धुम् हि तत्तपः (Kumāra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds'. अस्ति मे विभवः सर्वं परित्तातु (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing'. भोक्तुम् प्रवीणः कुशलः पटुर्वा 'skilful in eating'.

Another interpretation of the sūtra is "the affix *tumun* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याप्ति or अलम् or a synonym of *alam* having the sense of *parāṅpti*. Thus पर्याप्तो भोक्तुम्, अलं भोक्तुम्, भोक्तुम् पारयति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलम्कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्याप्तुम् भुङ्क्ते । The word शक् in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sūtra will apply: as शक्यमेवं कर्तुम् ।

कर्तरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्संज्ञकाः प्रत्ययाः कर्तरि कारके भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'krit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like ख्युन् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like ष्वुन् and वृच् &c, (III. 1. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्ता 'an agent'; नन्दनः 'one who causes happiness'; ग्रही 'who seizes'; पचः 'who cooks'.

भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ प० ॥

भव्य-गेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-जन्य-आप्लाव्य-आपात्याः, वा, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादयः शब्दाः कर्तरि वा निपात्यन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya', 'geya', 'pravachaniya',

'upasthāniya', 'janya', 'āplāvya' and 'āpātya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kṛitya* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sūtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus भव्य may mean 'existed', 'existence', or 'one who exists'; गेय means 'a singer', 'a song', or 'singing'; प्रवचनीय means 'one who explains', 'what ought to be explained', or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीय means 'who waits upon', 'what ought to be waited upon or served', or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्य = जायतेऽसौ or जन्यमनेन means 'one who gives birth i. e. a father', 'birth' or 'what is born'; अग्राह्य = आह्वयतेऽसौ or आप्नाह्वयमनेन means 'who immerses', 'one immersing', or 'what ought to be immersed'; आपात्य = आपतत्यसौ or आपात्यमनेन means 'what falls upon', 'falling upon', or 'what ought to fall upon'. Thus गेयो माणवकः साम्रां 'the boy is the singer of the Sāma'; or गेयानि माणवकेन सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sāma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्य 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुणा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी गुरोः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानीयः शिष्येण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil'.

लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः ॥६९॥ पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मणि, च, भावे, च, अकर्मकेभ्यः, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लकाराः कर्मणिकारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च, अकर्मकेभ्यो पातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति, पुनश्चकारात् कर्तरि च ॥

69. The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल् means the ten affixes known as लट्, लिट्, &c; ल् is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicatory letters, leave behind only the letter ल् which is thus common name for them all. The लः in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ल्। By the word च in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sūtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent'.

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गम्यते ग्रामो देवदत्तेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here ते of गम्यते denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गच्छ् being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action'. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आस्ते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आस्ते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action". The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

तयोरेव कृत्यकखलर्याः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क-
खलर्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्मणोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः कखलार्थाश्च प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kritya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal', have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (bhāva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act', and कर्म, 'object'. The word एव 'only' is used in the sūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्तव्यः कटो भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः भोदनो भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you'. Here the affix तव्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also आशितव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; शयितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down'. Here the sense of the affix तव्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क्त denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कटो भवता 'the mat is made by you'; भुक्त भोदनो भवता 'the rice is eaten by you'. Here क्त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly त may be used in denoting the mere act; आसितं भवता 'you sat'; शयितं भवता 'you lay down'.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल् (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईषत्करः कटो भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty'. In the following examples the affixes denote the act; ईषदादंभवं भवता and स्वादंभवं भवता ।

After transitive verbs, the *kritya*, the *kta* and the *khalārtha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action'.

आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि, क्तः, कर्तरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः क्तो विहितः स कर्तरि भवति, चकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the क्त may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः here the agent is denoted. प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतम् देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted. Similarly प्रभुक्त ओदनं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रभुक्त ओदनो देवदत्तेन (object); प्रभुक्तं देवदत्तेन (act).

गत्यर्थकर्मकश्लिषशीङ्स्यासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्मक-श्लिष-शीङ्-स्या-आस-वस-जन-रुह-जीर्यतिभ्यः, च, (क्तः, कर्तरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यः श्लिषादिभ्यश्च यः क्तः स कर्तरि भवति, चकाराद्यपामाप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'śliṣ' (to embrace), 'śī' (to lie down), 'sthā' (to stand), 'ās' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jri' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sūtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गतो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन ग्रामः गतः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs, denote the agent and the act only ; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus स्नानो भवान्; 'you were wearied' (agent), स्नानं भवता (object); आसितो

भवान् 'you sat' (agent), भासितं भवता (object); उपश्रितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), उपश्रितो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपश्रितम् भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपश्रयितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपश्रयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपश्रयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); उपासितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपासितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपासितं भवता (act); अनुपितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), अनुपितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनुपितं भवता (act); अनुजातो माणवको माणविकाम् (agent), अनुजाता माणवकेन माणविका (object), अनुजातं माणवकेन (act); आरूढो वृक्षं भवान् (agent), आरूढो वृक्षो भवता (object), आरूढं भवता (act); अनुजीर्णो वृषणीं देवदत्तः (agent), अनुजीर्णो वृषणी देवदत्तेन (object), अनुजीर्णं देवदत्तेन (act). The verbs श्लिप् &c, become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be included in the word *akarmaka* of the sūtra.

दाशगोघ्नी संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोघ्नी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोघ्नी शब्दौ सम्प्रदाने कारके निपादयन्ते ॥

73. The words 'dāśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाश् 'to give' by adding the affix भक् under rule III. 1. 134. This being a कृदन्त word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom something is given i. e. a servant'. Similarly goghna does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word goghna which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word goghna which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandal'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति तस्मै; गोघ्नः = तस्मै दातुं गां प्रन्ति ॥

भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा अपादाने निपादयन्ते ॥

74. The words 'bhîma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unādi* affixes. Thus भी + मक् = भीम (Un. I. 145, 148); भी + युक् + मक् = भीष्म (Un. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, *Unādi* words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhimādi words :—भीमः, भीष्मः, भयावकः (Un. III. 82), वरुः, चरुः,

(Un. I. 7), भूमिः (Un. IV. 45), रजः (Un. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संक्रन्दनः, प्रपतनः, समुद्रः, सुचः, or सुवः (Un. II. 61), सुक् (Un. II. 62) खलतिः ।

ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः ॥७५॥ पदानि ॥ ताभ्यां, अन्यत्र, उणादयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः शाब्दास्ताभ्यामपादानसंप्रदानोभ्यामन्यत्र कारको भवन्ति ॥

75. The words formed by 'Unâdi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i. e., receipient and ablation.

The *Unâdi* affixes being a subdivision of *krit* affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sūtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word ताभ्यां has been used in the sūtra in order to include the word *sampraddāna* also. For, had the sūtra been अन्यत्रोणादयः, only the *Apâdāna kāraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampraddāna kāraka*. Thus कृषितोऽसौ = कृषिः (Un. IV. 120) 'agriculture i. e. what is ploughed' (object); तन्यत इति = तन्तुः (Un. I. 69) 'a thread i. e. what is drawn out'; वृत्तमिति वर्त्म (Un. IV. 145) 'a way i. e. what is established'; चरितं = चर्म (Un. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

कोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥

क्तः, अधिकरणे, च, ध्रौव्य-गति-प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, (क्तः, भावे, कर्मणि, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यो यः क्तो विहितः सोऽधिकरणे भवति चकाराद्यपामोहं च ध्रौव्यार्थेभ्यः कर्तृभावाधिकरणेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यः कर्तृकर्मभावाधिकरणेषु, प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः कर्मभावाधिकरणेषु ।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well.

The verbs denoting ध्रौव्य or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word *pratyavasāna* means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sūtra is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or *dhrauvyārtha* it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus आसितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sat'; आसितं तेन 'sitting by him (act)'; इदमेवामासितम् 'this was their seat' (location); यातो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); यातो देवदत्तेन ग्रामः (passive); यातं देवदत्तेन (abstract); इदमेवां यातम् 'this is their place of going' (location); भुक्त भोक्ष्णो देवदत्तेन (passive); भुक्त भोक्ष्णं देवदत्तः (active); देवदत्तेन भुक्तम् (abstract); इदमेवां भुक्तम् (location); कथं भुक्तं ब्राह्मणाः । पीता गावः । The भा in भुक्ता and पीता has the force of गतुम् (IV. 2. 85). भुक्तमेवामसित or पीतमेवामसि ।

लस्य ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्येत्ययमधिकारः, यद्विहितं कर्म्ममनुष्मिण्यामो लस्येत्येवं तद्विहितव्यम् ॥

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This sūtra consists of one word जस्य meaning 'of ज'. It is an *adhikāra* sūtra. The word जस्य is the genitive singular of ज, the अ in ज being for the sake of pronunciation. The ज means the ten affixes: जङ् present, जिङ् perfect, जुङ् first future, लुङ् second future, लोट् imperative लोट् Vedic subjunctive, लङ् imperfect, लिङ् potential and benedictive, लृङ् aorist, लृङ् conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory द्, and four have indicatory इ ।

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—In the following sūtras, the word जस्य should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e. the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ज' ।

तिसृक्सिप्थस्यनिद्वस्मस्ताताम्भयासायामध्वनिङ्वहिनहिङ्
॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-क्वि-सिप्-थस्-य-मिप्-वस्-मस्-त-आताम्-भ-
यास्-आयाम्-ध्वम्-इट्-वहि-महिङ्, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जस्य तिवाद्य भावेशा भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':—
'tip', 'tas', 'jhi'; 'sip', 'thas', 'thā'; 'mip', 'vas', 'mas'; 'ta',
'ātām' 'jha'; 'thās', 'āthām', 'dhvam'; 'it', 'vahi', mahiñ.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II. 4. 85, III. 1. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or जङ् that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The ण in तिप्, सिप् and मिप् is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4); the ट् in इट् for distinguishing it in the sūtra इटोऽन् (III. 4. 106); and the ङ् in महिङ् for forming the *Pratyāhāra* तिङ्, which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses:—

PRESENT TENSE.—जङ् ।

Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.		
	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	मि	वस्	मस्	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. "	सि	यस्	थ	से	आथे	ध्वे
3rd. "	ति	तस्	भन्ति	ते	आते	भन्ते

IMPERFECT OR FIRST PRETERITE.—लङ् ।

Parasmaipada.

Atmanepada.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	अम्	व	म	इ	वहि	महि
2nd. "	स्	तम्	त	थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	त्	ताम्	भन्	त	आताम्	भन्त

POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—बिधिलिङ् ।

1st. pers.	याम्	याव	याम	ईय	ईवहि	ईमहि
2nd. "	यास्	यातम्	यात	ईयास्	ईयाथाम्	ईध्वम्
3rd. "	यात्	याताम्	युस्	ईत	ईयाताम्	ईरन्

IMPERATIVE.—लोट् ।

1st. pers.	भानि	भाव	आम	ऐ	भावहे	आमहे
2nd. "	हि	तम्	त	स्व	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	तु	ताम्	भन्तु	ताम्	आताम्	भन्ताम्

PERFECT OR SECOND PRETERITE.—लिट् ।

1st. pers.	भ	व	म	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. "	थ	भयुस्	भ	से	आथे	ध्वे
3rd. "	भ	भयुस्	उस्	ए	आते	इरे

FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	तासि	तास्वस्	तासिस्	ताहे	तास्वहे	तासिहे
2nd. "	तासि	तास्यस्	तास्य	तासे	तासाथे	ताध्वे
3rd. "	ता	तारौ	तारस्	ता	तारौ	तारस्

SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	स्यामि	स्यावस्	स्यामस्	स्ये	स्यावहे	स्यामहे
2nd. "	स्यसि	स्यथस्	स्यथ	स्यसे	स्यथे	स्यध्वे
3rd. "	स्यति	स्यतस्	स्यन्ति	स्यते	स्येते	स्यन्ते

AORIST OR THIRD PRETERITE.—लृङ् ।

1st. pers.	सम्	स्व	स्त	सि	स्वहि	सहि
2nd. "	सीस्	स्तम्	स्त	स्थास्	साथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	सीव्	स्ताम्	सुस्	स्त	साताम्	सत

PRECATIVE OR BENEDICTIVE.—भाशीर्लिङ् ।

1st. pers.	यासम्	यास्व	यासि	सीय	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd. "	यास्	यास्तम्	यास्त	सीष्यास्	सीयास्थाम्	सीध्वम्
3rd. "	यात्	यास्ताम्	यासुस्	सीष्य	सीयास्ताम्	सीरन्

CONDITIONAL.—लृङ् ।

1st. pers.	स्याम्	स्याव	स्याम	स्ये	स्यावहि	स्यामहि
2nd. "	स्यस्	स्यतम्	स्यत	स्यथास्	स्येथाम्	स्यध्वम्
3rd. "	स्यत्	स्यताम्	स्यन्	स्यत	स्येताम्	स्यन्त

दित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दितः, आत्मनेपदानाम्, टेः, ए, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दितो जकारस्य स्थाने आत्मनेपदानि तेषां टेरेकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'ṭ'.

The ज or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory ṛ are six:—जट्, जिट्, जुट्, ज़ट्, जोट्, जेट् । In these tenses the final portion called टि of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए । Thus त becomes तं, आताम् becomes आते, हा becomes ह्ये &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes शानच्, and कानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पचनानः, यज नानः ? Because the word आत्मनेपदानां in the sūtra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyāhāra तिङ् ।

यासस्से ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ यासः, से, (लस्य, दितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दितो जकारस्य यस्थास्तस्य सेशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thās' in those tenses that have an indicatory 'ṭ'.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sūtra, the Atmanepada थास् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पचसे, वेचिषे, पक्तासे, पद्यसे ।

लिटस्तभयोरेशिरेच् ॥ ८१ ॥ प० ॥ लिटः, त-भयोः, एश्, इरेच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिडादेशयोस्तद्वायोर्यथासंख्यमेश्इरेच् इरदेतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

81. The words 'eś' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The श् of एश् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त (I. 1. 55). The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus वेचे, पेचाते वेचिरे । See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां णलतुसुस्थलथुसणल्वमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मैपदानां, णल्-अतुस्-उस्-यल्-अथुस्-अ-णल्-व-माः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिडादेशानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां यथासंख्यं तिवादीनां णलादयो नवादेशा भवन्ति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense :

Sing.	ṇal (अ)	thal (थ)	ṇal (भ)
Dual.	atus (अतुः)	athus (अथुः)	vā (व)
Plural.	us (उः)	a (अ)	ma (म)

The indicatory ल् in लन् and धन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory ए is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25). Thus पपाच, पेचतुः, पेचुः, पेचिय or पपक्य, पंचयुः, पेच, पपाच or पपच, पेचिव पेचिम ।

विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा, (परस्मैपदानां, ललतुसुस्थलयुल्लमाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञाने, अस्माद्वाचोः परेषां लडादेशानां परस्मैपदानां एजादयो नव विकल्पे-
नादेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid'.

Thus:—

Singular.	वेद or वेत्ति	वेत्थ or वेत्सि	वेद or वेसि
Dual.	विदतुः or वित्तः	विदथुः or वित्थः	विद or वित्तः
Plural.	विदुः or विदन्ति	विद or वित्थ	विम or विमः

ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्, आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, ललतुसुस्थल, लटः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्मै लटः परस्मैपदानां पञ्चानामादिभूतानां पंचैव एजादय आदेशा भवन्ति, तत्तन्निर्णयनं च ब्रुव आहश्च आदेशो भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brū' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'āha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brū'.

Thus आह 'he says'; आहतुः 'they two say'; आहुः 'they say'; आत्थ 'thou sayst'; आह्युः 'you two say'; the rest like ब्रू as shown below:—

Singular.	आह or ब्रवीति	आत्थ or ब्रवीषि	ब्रवीमि
Dual.	आहतुः or ब्रूतः	आह्युः or ब्रूथः	ब्रूवः
Plural.	आहुः or ब्रुवन्ति	ब्रूथ	ब्रूमः

The word आदितः 'first' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word ब्रुवः in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटी लङ्वत् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लङ्वत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटो लङ्वत्कार्यं भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an अतिदेश sūtra; as in the लङ् there are the affixes ताम्, तम्, त, व and न, so also in the लोट् । Thus पचताम्, पचतम्, पचत, पचाव, पचाम ।

Q.—If लोट् is like लङ्, why have we not the augment अट्, आट्, or the substitution of जुस् for सि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लोट् also?

A.—The वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the analogy between लोट् and लङ् is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लङ्, equally applicable to लोट् also.

एः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, उः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशानामिकारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हिन्दोरुत्वप्रतिषेधो वस्तुतः ॥

86. In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes तु, भन्ति becomes भन्तु, as have already been given in the above table.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि of लोट् । In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (स्यवर्द्धित विभाषा). Thus पचतु, पचन्तु ।

In fact, this sūtra is confined to ति and सि only, and does not apply to सि to which the next sūtra applies.

सेहंयपिच्च ॥ ८७ ॥ सेः, हि, अपित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशस्य सेर्हि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for सिप्, would have been a पित् affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प ।

Thus जुनीहि, पुनीहि, रात्रुहि, तक्षणुहि ; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it ङित् also, and thereby no guṇa takes place.

वा छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि, (सेहंयपित्, लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशश्छन्दसि विषये हिशब्दो वाऽपिद्वयति ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'.

The result is that in the Chhandas the second person singular of लोट् has two forms as प्रीणाहि or प्रीणीहि; युयुधि or युयोधि, धि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अम् नयं सुपर्णरात्रेऽभस्मान्विभ्रानिदेव युयूनानिविद्वान् ।

यु योद्यस्मङ्गुहुराणमेनोभूयिष्ठान्ते नमःउक्तिम्विधेम ॥

— Rig 1. 189. 1 : Yajur Veda, 40. 16.

मेनिः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेः, निः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटदेशस्य मेनिरादेशो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of इ into उ, and the rule of *lopa* ; see the table; thus पचानि, पठानि ।

आमेतः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटसम्बन्धिन एकारस्य आमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'ām' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचताम्, पचेताम्, पचन्ताम् ।

सवाभ्यां वामौ ॥ ९० ॥ प० ॥ स-वाभ्यां, व-अमौ, (लोटः, एतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य लोटसम्बन्धिन एकारस्य यथासंख्यं व अम् इत्येतावादेशो भवतः ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v', is substituted 'am', in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sūtra. Thus, for से we have स्व, and for वे we have वम्; see the table; thus पचस्व, पचवम् ।

आहुत्तमस्य पिच्च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, उत्तमस्य, पित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटसम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्याङगमो भवति स चोत्तमपुरुषः पिच्चवति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'ât' is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, आव, आम । Thus करदाणि, करवाव, करवाम; करवे, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

एत ऐ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ऐ, (लोटः, उत्तमस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटसम्बन्धिन एकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

93. The 'ai' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवे, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

But the ए resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ऐ । Thus पचाव + इवम् = पचावेवम्, पचाम + इवम् = पचामेवम् । Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of अ of न and व. But this is not to be changed into ऐ on the maxim that this ए is the result of a बहिरङ्ग rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. I. 87), is a बहिरङ्ग rule, while the present sūtra is an अन्तरङ्ग rule; because of the following Paribhāṣā, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

लेटो ऽडाटौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेटोऽडाटावागमौ भवतः पर्यायेण ॥

94. The augments 'at' and 'āt' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुप् + सिप् + अट् + त् = जोषिषत्; तारिषत्, मन्त्रिषत्; similarly पत् + आट् + ति = पताति; व्यावयाति । See III. I. 34 for the addition of सिप् in the above.

आत ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्सम्बन्धिन आकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'ā' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्त्रयेते, मन्त्रयेथे, करवेते, करवेथे । Why is not the augment आट् changed into ऐ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आट् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ऐतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य वा ऐकारादेशो भवति अन्यत्रेत्यनन्तरो विधिरपेक्ष्यते । आत ऐ इत्येतद्विषयं वर्जयित्वा एत ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus शयै, ईशै, &c, in the following examples:—सप्ताहानि शयै, अहमेव पशूनामीशै, मद्ग्रा एव वो महा गृह्यान्तै, मद्देवत्यान्त्येव वः पात्राण्युच्यन्तै । And in the alternative we have simply ऐ, as यज क च ते मनो वसम् इधसउत्तरम् ।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sūtra'? Observe मन्त्रयेते, मन्त्रयेथे ।

इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मै-पदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्संबन्धिन इकारस्य परस्मैपदविषयस्य लोपो भवति वानुवृत्तेः पक्षे श्रवणमपि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The च of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12). मन्त्रिषत् । In the alternative, it is not elided as पताति विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उद्धि व्यावयाति । The इ of इट्, वहि and मद्हि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

स उत्तमस्य ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, उत्तमस्य, (लेटः, वा, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्-सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाव or करवावः, करवाम or करवामः । The first person is used in the sūtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

नित्यं ङितः ॥ ९९ ॥ प० ॥ नित्यं, ङितः, (लस्य, उत्तमस्य, सः, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङितो लकारस्य य उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'n'.

The tense-affixes having indicatory इ are four, namely, लङ्, लिङ्, लृङ् and लृङ् । In their case, the elision of स् is not optional as was the case in the last sūtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचाम । The word नित्यं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally'.

इतश्च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, (ङितः, नित्यं, लोपः, लस्य)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङित्कारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

100. And there is elision of the 'i' of that Pa-
rasmaipada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicatory 'n'.

Thus, for ति we have इ, for सि we have स्, &c, as in the above table. The इ of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛitti of Paras-
maipada is understood here from sūtra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचत्, अपाक्षत्, but
अपचावहि and अपचामहि ।

तस्यस्यनिपां तान्तंतामः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्-यस्-य-निपां,
तां-तं-त-आमः, (ङितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङित्कारसम्बन्धिनां चतुर्णां यथासंख्यं तामाद्य आवेशा भवन्ति ॥

101. The affixes 'tām', 'tam', 'ta' and 'ām' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas', 'thas', 'tha' and 'mip' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicatory 'n'.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचताम्, अपचतम्,
अपचत, अपचम्, अपाक्ताम्, अपाक्तम्, अपाक्त, अपाक्तम् ।

लिङ्सीयुट् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङः, सीयुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङावेशानां सीयुडागमो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'sīyut'.

The इ् of सीयुट्, is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The ऊ is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the स् of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the य् also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत्, पचेयाताम्, and by III. 4. 105, पचेरन् । In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus पक्षीट्, पक्षीयास्ताम् पक्षीरन् ।

यासुट् परस्मैपदेषूदात्तो ङिच् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट्, परस्मै-पदेषु, उदात्तः, ङित्, च, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदविषयस्य लिङो यासुडागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवादः सचोदात्तो भवति, ङिच् ॥

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yāsut' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'ñ'.

This debars सीयुट्; the उट् of यासुट् is indicatory; the real augment is यास्. All augments being anudātta, the present sūtra therefore especially uses the word udātta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ् has an indicatory ङ्, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory ङ्, the repetition of the word ङित् in this sūtra shows the existence of the paribhāṣhā "that the ङ् belonging to लृ does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ् and लृङ् are not to be regarded as having an indicatory ङ् (लकाराश्रयङित्वमाहेतानां न भवति). In the Potential, the स् of 'यासुट्' is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्युस् । For the Benedictive लिङ्, the following sūtra applies.

किदाशिषि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित्, आशिषि, (लिङ्, यासुट्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि यो लिङ् तस्य यासुडागमो भवति सचोदात्तः किदाङ्भवति ॥

104. The augment 'yāsut' comes after that 'liñ' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'liñ' are as if they had an indicatory 'k'.

The कित् of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment यासुट्, for that would have been unnecessary,

being already ङित् by the last rule. ङित् and कित् are equal in prohibiting guṇa and vṛddhi, but ङित् is distinguished from कित् inasmuch as ङित् causes the guṇa of जागृ (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus इष्यात्, इष्यास्ताम्, इष्यातुः, and जागर्यात्, जागर्यास्ताम् and जागर्यातुः। In the Potential, वष्यात् (no samprasāraṇa); in the Benedictive, उष्यात् (vocalisation). So also जागृयात् in the Potential.

अस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, रन्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्व लिङादेशस्य रन्निव्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Liṅ' (Potential and Benedictive).

The झ in other places, is replaced generally by भन्त (VII. 1. 3), but in लिङ्, it is replaced by रन्। Thus पचेरन्, यजेरन्, कृषीरन्।

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य इटोऽदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus पचेय, यजेय, कृषीय, इषीय।

Q.—In the sūtra, the word अत् is used, and the final त् belongs to the द्विभक्ति, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this त् is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This त् is not any portion or member of the substitute अत्; it is added to अ merely for the sake of euphony.

The इट् refers to the आत्मनेपद affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment इट् on the strength of the maxim अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य। A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.

सुट् तियोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-योः, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ् संबन्धिनीस्तकारयकारयोः सुडागमो भवति ॥

107. The augment 'suṭ' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त् and य are the objects to which the augment सुट् is to be added; provided that the त् and य are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्।

The augment सीसुट् is applied to लिङ् as such; in other words, लिङ् is

there the आगमी; but in the case of सुट्, लिङ् is not the आगमी, but त् and थ are the आगमी। The scope of सीयुट् and सुट् being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sūtra, the word ति is used; the इ of ति is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कृषीट्, कृषीयास्ताम् कृषीरन्, कृषीष्टाः, कृषीयास्थाद्। In the Potential, the स् is elided by VII. 2. 79.

भेर्जुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भेः, जुस्, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य भेर्जुस् आदेशो भवति ॥

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars अन्त (VII. 1. 3); thus पच्येयुः, यजेयुः।

सिजभ्यस्तविदिभ्यश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ सिच्-अभ्यस्त-विदिभ्यः, च, (भेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः परस्य अभ्यस्त संज्ञकेभ्यो वेत्तेद्योरस्य जुसादेशो भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory 'ñ') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', when it comes after an Aorist in 'sich', or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having इ other than that of लिङ्, namely, the जङ् and लुङ्।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुस्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच्। The word ङितः of sūtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (जङ्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अक्रावुः, अहारुः। Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अविभयुः, अजिहयुः, अजागरुः। In the case of विद्, we have अविदुः।

आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, (भेर्जुस्, सिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच आकारान्ताच्च परस्य भेर्जुसादेशो भवति ॥

110. (When 'sich' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'ā'.

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus अहुः, अधुः, अस्थुः। In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुस् is the substitute of ङि where the verbs end in long आ। In other words, this sūtra restricts the scope of the last sūtra, by which after every सिच्, जुस् was to replace ङि।

The Present sūtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुस् does not replace झि in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, सिच् is elided after the verb भू, but as भू does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुस्। Thus, भुवन्। Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though सिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. 1. 62)', जुस् would have replaced झि; but the present sūtra prohibits that. But where the सिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुस् does come. Thus भकार्पुः, अहार्युः।

लङः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लङः, शाकटायनस्य, (भेः, जुस्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाकारान्तादुत्तरस्य लङादेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

111. In the opinion of Sākaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'ā'.

Thus अयुः, भवुः। In the alternative, we have अयान् and भवान्।

Why is लङ् repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sūtra applies to ङित्तenses, of which लुङ् being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other ङित् tense (like लिङ् or लृङ्) can end in आ? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ् as लङ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated *like* लङ्। Thus लोट् is treated *like* लङ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the झि of लोट् will not be changed into जुस् by III. 4. 109. Thus बिभ्यद्, जाग्रद्, विदन्तु। The word एव has been used in the sūtra, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

द्विषश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, च, (लङः, शाकटायनस्य, भेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्य लङादेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

112. In the opinion of Sākaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect after the verb 'dvish' (to hate).

Thus अद्विषुः। But according to others, अद्विषन्।

तिङ्शित्सार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ प० ॥ तिङ्-शित्, सार्वधातुकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकत्वं भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 's', are called 'sārvadhātuka'.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तद्धित affixes &c. Thus, स्वपिति, रोदिति, पचमानः, पयमानः। लिट् and आशीर्जिङ् are exceptions.

आर्द्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम्, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ् शितश्च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः सोपो धातुसंशब्देन विहित आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e. the affixes other than 'tin', and those with an indicative 'ś' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

Thus the affixes ह्, तुम्, त्वयम् &c. are आर्द्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—ज्विता, ज्वितुम्, ज्वित्वयम् । Here the augment इट् is added, because of these affixes being called *ārdhadhātuka* by VII. 2. 35.

The word धातोः whose anuvṛitti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् when added to the noun जू, is not called an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, and therefore we have लूभ्याम्, जूभिः &c. Had these affixes been *ārdhadhātuka*, they would have caused the *guṇa* of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes स्तृ and त्तृ in the words वृत्तत्वं and वृत्तता are not *ārdhadhātuka* affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5, the affix सन् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप्, तिज् and कित् । But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word धातोः as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this सन् is not called *ārdhadhātuka*, and does not take the augment इट्, as जुगुप्सते ।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्तिङार्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debars them from being called *sārvadhātuka* and, being *ārdhadhātuka*, some of them take the augment इट्; as पेचिथ, सेकिथ । Moreover by their being *ārdhadhātuka* they do not admit of the Vikaraṇas शप् &c.

So from ग्लै (ग्ला, VI. 1. 45) we have जग्ले; here the ग् is elided by VI. 4 64, the affix being treated as *ārdhadhātuka*; similarly मग्ले from म्लै ।

लिङाशिपि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिपि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिपि विषये यो लिङ् स आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'lin' are called 'ārdhadhātuka', i. e. the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called *sārvadhātuka*. Being *ārdhadhātuka* they take the augment इट्, and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikaraṇas शप्. &c. Thus from the root कृ 'to cut', we have in the आशीर्लिङ्, लविषीष्ट; and from the root पू 'to purify', पविषीष्ट. But in the विधिलिङ् (Potential), we have the proper Vikaraṇas &c. as कृनीयात्, पुनीयात् ।

छन्दसुभयथा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति सार्वधातुकमार्द्धधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sârva-dhâtuka' and 'ârdhadhâtuka' is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes. Sometimes the लिङ् and शित् are treated as if they were *ârdhadhâtuka*. Thus वर्धन्तु स्वा सुष्टुतयः । Here the affixes of the लोट् are treated as *ârdhadhâtuka* and consequently there is the elision of the णिच् by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्धयन्तु । Sometimes *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes are treated like *sârvadhâtuka* affixes; as विगृण्विरे; here the affixes of the लिङ् are treated as *sârvadhâtuka* and so there is the Vikaraṇa गु and the उ is changed into व । Thus, वि+भृ+भु+इरे=वि+गृ+नु+इरे (III. 1. 74) =वि+गृ+न्व+इरे (VI. 4. 87)=विगृण्विरे । Similarly, सुन्विरे । The लिङ् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* at one and the same time; as उपस्थेयाम् शरणं बृहन्तम् । Here, by treating the affix as *sârvadhâtuka*, there is elision of स in the लिङ् (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as *ârdhadhâtuka*, the आ of रथा is changed into ए । So also in स्वस्ति the affix is treated as *sârvadhâtuka* and there is no substitution of भू for भस् as required by II. 4. 52.







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